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Studies on the Gilaki language

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*Dedicated to the dear memory
of my grandmother Mohtaram Nowruzi (1943-2017)*

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Foreword

The present thesis contains studies on the Gilaki language and is divided into two major parts. The first part focuses on historical phonology of Gilaki and tries to throw some new light on the linguistic history of Gilaki. The main pattern of this chapter is based on the relevant sections in V. S. Rastorgueva and D. I. Ėdel'man's work from 1982 on the Caspian languages. However, I have added, eliminated and modified some parts according to my linguistic knowledge of Gilaki.

The second part of the thesis is based on linguistic data collected in April 2017 in the small village of Nowdeh Pasixān, which is located the north of Šaft. The informant, Mohtaram Nowruzi, was asked to speak freely without any limitation. She was monolingual (Gilaki) and was not able to speak in Persian. The texts already formed the main subject of my BA thesis. For the present study, first I thoroughly revised their transcription and translation and then carried out their in-depth linguistic analysis making full use of the FieldWorks Language Explorer (FLEX) program suite.

This work owes a lot to many people. First of all, I would like to thank my parents and my dear friends Stephanie, Daniel, Robert and Andrew for supporting me spiritually throughout the writing of this thesis.

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Last but not least, Cormac Anderson and Paul Heggarty of the Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History in Jena took their cue from the aforementioned crowdfunding campaign and offered me a contract as a visiting researcher for a joint research currently in progress.

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Abbreviations

Ar.	Arabic	NWIr.	North Western Iranian
Av.	Avestan	NWGil.	North Western Gilaki
ClP	Classic Persian	OAv.	Old Avestan
CTāl.	Central Tālyši	OGil.	Old Gilaki
CTāt.	Central Tātic	OInd.	Old Indian
EGil.	Eastern Gilaki	OIr	Old Iranian
Fum.	Fumanāti	OP	Old Persian
Gil.	Gilaki	Parth.	Parthian
Ir.	Iranian	prs.	present
ManMP	Manichean Middle Persian	pst.	past
Med.	Median	pst. ptcp.	past participle
MIr.	Middle Iranian	Russ.	Russian
MP	Middle Persian	STāl.	Southern Tālyši
NP	New Persian	SWIr.	South Western Iranian
NTāl.	Northern Tālyši	WGil.	Western Gilaki
NTāt.	Northern Tātic		

Introduction

Gilān Province covers an area of 14,042 square kilometers and is located between 36° 34' and 38° 27' latitude and 48° 52' and 50° 34' longitude. It is one of the provinces adjoining the south-western coast of the Caspian sea, the northern slopes of the Alborz mountains and the western and eastern slopes of the Tālyš mountains.

The province borders the Republic of Azerbaijan in the north, Ardabil in the west, Qazvin in south and Mazandaran in the east.

It has a mild climate and a strategic position, in that it is linked with the newly independent countries of the former Soviet Union either by land or by sea. In addition, the province has a geographical proximity to the political center of the country in comparison to many other of the provinces of Iran.

According to the administrative division, Gilān's cities and counties are: Rašt, Bandar-e Anzali, Fuman, Šaft, Šowme'e Sarā, Āstāne Ašrafiye, Lāhiĵān, Langarud, Rudsar, Haštpar, Režvānšahr, Āstārā, Xomām, Manĵil, Siāhkal, Māsāl and Amlaš.



Administrative map of Gilān

Gilān is known as a province where two separate ethnic groups have lived for a long period: the Gilaks and the Tālyšes. These are two ethnic groups with different customs and religions, as well as different languages and folk arts. There are also other

ethnic and linguistic populations such as Turks, Tātis and Kurds. However, the vast majority of the inhabitants speak Gilaki. The term *Gil-a mard* “man of Gilān” refers to a group of Gilaki speakers who are living in the plain areas of the province (Bromberger 2010).

Conventionally, Gilaki falls into two main varieties: WGil. (Rašt, Fuman, Šaft, Bandar-e Anzali) and Eastern Gilaki (Lāhījān, Langerud)². The mutual intelligibility of these two varieties is relatively low, as one moves from Fuman toward Langerud and Rudsar. Donald Stilo (2015: 425) explains the division of WGil. and EGil. as follows:

As Proto-Caspian entered the seacoast and spread both westwards and eastwards from the central Caspian area, the group progressing westwards that would eventually become the various dialects of Gilaki most likely encountered a Tatic language (early Tālyshi? a form of Tati? pre-Rudbari?) that was already established in the coastal areas of Gilān to the west of Sefidrud. Hence the dialects of Gilaki east of Sefidrud share certain linguistic features with all Caspian languages to the east extending even as far as Gorgan, but not with Western Gilaki. The latter dialect cluster, however, share other features with Southern Tālyshi, Rudbāri dialects (which I classify as “Tatoid”) as the local forms of Central Tati.

He states also:

In the process of language shift from their original Tatic speech to a Caspian language (pre-Gilaki) west of the Sefidrud, the tatic substratum left its imprint on the incoming Caspian speech form, i.e., the eventual Western Gilaki, thus distinguishing it from Eastern Gilaki.

² A major river in Gilān, the Sefid-rud (lit. “white river”), divides the Gilān plateau into two main regions: the *biyā pas* (the lands to the west of the river) and the *biyā piš* (to the east of the river).

Fumanāt dialects and their linguistic position

Generally speaking, Fumanāt refers to Fuman, Šaft, Māsāl and, Šowme‘e Sarā and probably some parts of Rašt. Fumanāt remained the capital region of Gilān until 980/1542. It fell into decay when Jamšid Sultan, the ruler of Fumanāt, decided to transfer his capital from Fuman to Rašt.

At the beginning of Nāsir al-Dīn Šāh Qājār’s reign (1848-1896), Hājī Muhammad Khan, the ruler of Fumanāt, moved to Rašt and, as a result Fuman began to decline. At that time, Fuman was no more than a village with only 140 houses around the palace of the khan (Bazin 2001: 228).

Šowme‘e Sarā and Šaft became independent from Fumanāt in 1959 and 1995 respectively and, from then on, the county name Fumanāt changed to Fuman.

Fuman gained its importance since the middle of 20th century and became the commercial and cultural center of Gilān. A large tea factory made this city one of the most important producer of tea in Gilān (Bazin 2001: 228).

I propose three branches for WGil.: 1) Fumanāt variety: Fuman, Šowme‘e Sarā, Šaft; 2) North-Western Gilaki: Rašt, Xomām, Bandar-e Anzali; 3) Transitional variety (between Fumanāt regions and Rašt): Pasixān, Xašt-e Masjed, Ahmad Gurāb, ‘Eynak. Linguistically, the Fumanāt variety forms a spectrum-like dialect chain from Sowme‘e Sarā to Fuman and Šaft. It shares some linguistic features with STāl. Particularly, Fuman and Šaft are unique in this aspect, because half of the inhabitants of these two cities are bilingual (Tālyši, Gilaki)³.

Stilo describes the language contact of STāl. and WGil. as follows (2015: 422):

In addition to common inherited genetic features that unite Southern Tālyshi and Central Tāti, both these groups also share commonalities that result from the diffusion of many Gilaki features into the neighboring areas but not

³ I am carrying out a separate research on language contact between Fum. and STāl. The preliminary observations show that there exists a mixed variety of Fum. and STāl. This variety is used when Tālyši or Gilaki speakers intend to communicate with each other in the market or other commercial situations.

far beyond, that is, some features extend only to southern Tālyshi, and others to Central Tālyshi.

The shared features of WGil. and STāl. are listed in the following:

(1) Lack of a tense-aspect-mood marker in the present tense (Ø Present marker, i.e. no prefix *mi-* or *a-*), which Stilo (2018: 716) explains as follows:

The Ø Present marker forms a small isogloss with languages of four groups: Western Gilaki, Southern Talyshi, Central Tati, and Rudbāri (Tatoid). It is one of the main features distinguishing Western Gilaki from Eastern Gilaki.

WGil. (Rašt) *danəm* “I know”;

STāl. (Māsuleh) *zanəm* “id.”.

The Ø present marker occurs also in Rudbāri and CTāt. (Stilo 2018: 717):

CTāt. (Koluri) *zanəm* “id.”;

Rudbāri *donəm* “id.”.

(2) A suffixed *-i* or *-æy* (CTāt.) (Stilo 2018: 730) in the imperfect tense: this feature is shared by WGil., CTāt., STāl and CTāl.:

Fum. (Fuman) *xordim* (< *-i-im*) “we were eating”;

NWGil. (Rašt) *gufti* (< *-i-i*) “you (2 sg) were saying”;

CTāt. (Dizi) *xærd-ey-m-e* “I was eating” (Stilo 2018: 730);

CTāl. (Asālemi) *aš-i-m* “I used to go” (Yarshater 1996: 100);

STāl. (Fuman) *avrij-i-mun* “we used to run”.

(3) The particle *karə* (< *kār* “work, doing”, Windfuhr 1989: 256) is used in WGil., STāl., CTāl. and Tāti (Kaĵali, Dəravi) to demonstrate present or past continuous:

Kaĵali:

kāri nəši “I am sitting”;

kāri mə-ništ-im “I was sitting” (Sabzalipour 1391: 48-65);

Dəravi:

kārā nəši “I am sitting”;

kārā nəšim “I was sitting” (Sabzalipour 1391: 48-65);

Eštehārdi:

mi-vaz-āy-šin kā/ār-dar-āy “you (pl.) are running” (Windfuhr 2012: 654);

Kelāsi:

kæræ me-xos-ām “I am sleeping” (Stilo 2018: 736);

CTāl. (Paresari):

kār-ima nəštə “I am sitting”;

kā(r) b-im nəštə “I was sitting” (Sabzalipour 1391: 162);

STāl.:

kəra niš-əm “I am sitting”;

kəra niš-im “I was sitting” (Sabzalipour 1391: 162);

kəra xəš-Ø-əm “I am sleeping” (Stilo 2018: 736);

Fum. (Fuman, Šaft):

karə nišinəm, karə ništan darəm “I am sitting”;

karə ništan dubom “I was sitting”.

Stilo (2015: 423) mentions that the diffusion of the particle *karə* is not so clear:

It is not a foregone conclusion that all influences and diffusion have come from Gilaki to Tālyshi and Tāti. In many cases, the origins of the Gilaki features themselves are simply not known, such as, for example (among many others) whether the use of “*karə*” to form the progressive tenses in Gilaki appeared in Gilaki first and spread from there or whether it is the effect of some type of diffusion to Gilaki from outside, and if so, from which direction it spread.

(4) The common isoglosses between WGil. (Fum., NWGil.) and STāl. (Māsuleh, Siyahmazgi, Emāmzāde Ebrāhim) are reported as a result of language contact:

Fum.	NWGil.	STāl.	CTāl.	NTāl.	
<i>pillə</i>	<i>pillə</i>	<i>pillə</i>	<i>yol</i>	<i>yol</i>	“big”
<i>moryanə</i>	<i>moryane</i>	<i>moryane</i>	<i>uva</i>	<i>iive</i>	“egg”
<i>xaš</i>	<i>xaš</i>	<i>xaš</i>	<i>asta</i>	<i>asta</i>	“bone”
<i>gozga</i>	<i>gozga</i>	<i>gozga</i>	<i>vərzag</i>	<i>vərzag</i>	“frog”

<i>aĵik</i>	<i>aĵik</i>	<i>ājik</i>	–	–	“tapeworm”
<i>garzag</i>	<i>garzə</i>	<i>girze</i>	<i>muz</i>	<i>muz</i>	“bee”

There are also some phonological and grammatical features which distinguish Fum. from NWGil.:

(1) The existence of the allophones [ō], [ū]:

NWGil. *so* “light” = Fum. *sō* ;

NWGil. *tūl* “muddy” = Fum. *tūl*.

(2) In some cases, /h/ between vowels changes to /x/ in Fum.:

NWGil. *fadahən* “to give” = Fum. *fadaxən*;

NWGil. *bobohən* “to become” = Fum. *boboxən*;

NWGil. *aždaha* “dragon” = Fum. *aždaxa*.

(3) The consonant cluster /ft/ is preserved in Rašt in the middle of a word, but is replaced by /st/ in Šaft and then assimilated to /ss/ in Fuman:

(Rašt) *eškaftən* “to break”, (Šaft) *eškastən*, (Fuman) *eškassən*.

(4) In some rare cases, the /x/ in NWGil. changed to /x^w/ in Fum. (Resāyi 1385: 68):

NWGil. *xali* “plum” = Fum. *x^wali*;

NWGil. *xotka* “a local bird” = Fum. *x^wetka*.

(5) The unexpected ending of -i/əš(ə) appears in second singular person of transitive and intransitive verbs of the perfect and imperfect tenses:

NWGil. *buxurdi* “you ate (2 sg.)” = Fum. (Fuman) *buxordišə*;

NWGil. *xordi* “you were eating (2 sg.)” = Fum. (Gaskar, Ziābar, Bāzār-e Jom‘e) *xordiš*, *xordišə* “you were eating”.

The element is also reported in the second singular person in Ziābar and Gaskar (Purhādi 1397: 103).

An ending -əš occurs also in Karegāni and Šahrudi (Henning 1954:163), STāl. and CTāl. (Paul 2011: 112). It is also reported in some SWIr. dialects like Lārestāni (Mowlāyi 1395: 55).

Western vs. Eastern Gilaki

Phonological differences

(1) Medial /g/ is sometimes lost in EGil., but not in WGil.:

WGil. *fagiftān* “to take, hold” = EGil. *hagitān* (Geiger 1898-1901: 349; Stilo 2001: 660);

WGil. *buguftān* “to say” = EGil. *butān* (Geiger 1898-1901: 354).

(2) an original /a/ before a nasal is raised to /o/ (Stilo 2001: 667; Purhadi 1397: 47):

WGil. *danān* “to know” = EGil. *donān*;

WGil. *xanān* “to read” = EGil. *xonān*.

(3) EGil. preserves /ɣ/ in the final position of some words (Purhadi 1397: 47):

WGil. *ra* “street” = EGil. *ray*;

WGil. *ča* “well” = EGil. *čay*.

(4) consonant clusters /ft/ and /xt/ in WGil. change to /t/ in EGil.:

WGil. *buguftān* “to say” = EGil. *butān*;

WGil. *fagiftān* “to take, hold” = EGil. *hagitān*;

WGil. *doxtān* “to sew” = EGil. *dotān*;

WGil. *poxtān* “to cook” = EGil. *potān* (Geiger 1898-1901: 349; Stilo 2001: 660).

Grammatical differences

Present tense

WGil. has a Ø marker for the present tense, as mentioned above, while EGil. uses a -*Vn*- suffix. Stilo (2018: 716) explains the Caspian present formant -(*V*)*n*- as follows:

The Caspian Present formant (*V*)*n* (lacking in W. Gilaki), is traditionally derived from an old present participle through phonetic reduction: **ant* > *Vn* (*V*)*n*(*n*). In Lāhijāni *ən* occurs after roots ending in most consonants, but *n*

after a vowel. After a root-final *n*-, the Present marker is lost; after *r*, the latter is lost and *-n*- retained.

WGil. *šən*, EGil. *šun* “to go”

WGil.	EGil.
<i>šəm</i>	<i>šunəm</i>
<i>ši</i>	<i>šuni</i>
<i>šə</i>	<i>šune</i>
<i>šim</i>	<i>šunim</i>
<i>šid</i>	<i>šunin</i>
<i>šən</i>	<i>šunən</i>

Imperfect

The general pattern of imperfect in WGil. is formed from the past stem with the addition of the suffix *-i-* and personal ending (*-əm*, *-i*, *-ə*, *-im*, *-id*, *-id*). The general pattern of imperfect in EGil. is formed from the past stem with the personal ending (*-əm*, *-i*, *-ə*, *-im*, *-in*, *-ən*) without the imperfect suffix *-i*:

WGil. *xandən*, EGil. *xondən* “to read”

WGil.	EGil.
<i>xand-i-m</i> (< <i>-i-əm</i>)	<i>xond-əm</i>
<i>xand-i</i> (< <i>-i-i</i>)	<i>xond-i</i>
<i>xand-i-ə</i>	<i>xond-ə</i>
<i>xand-i-m</i> (< <i>-i-im</i>)	<i>xond-im</i>
<i>xand-i-d</i> (< <i>-i-id</i>)	<i>xond-in</i>
<i>xand-i-d</i> (< <i>-i-id</i>)	<i>xond-ən</i>

Progressive patterns in WGil.

Form 1a: present progressive tense

Infinitive + locative *dər/dar* + (*-əm*, *-i*, *-ə*, *-im*, *-id*, *-ən[d]*, originally prs. forms of the auxiliary *bən* “to be”):

xordən “to eat”
xordən dar-əm
xordən dar-i
xordən dar-ə
xordən dar-im
xordən dar-id
xordən dar-ən(d)

Form 1b: past progressive tense

Infinitive + locative *də* + *bu-* (*-əm, -i, -ə/-u, -im, -id, -ən[d]*, originally pst. forms of the auxiliary *bən* “to be”):

xordən du-bəm (< *bu-* + *-əm*)
xordən du-bi
xordən du-bu
xordən du-bim
xordən du-bid
xordən du-bən(d)

The negative marker *nə-* is used before the infinitive:

- (a) *nuxordən darəm* “I am not eating”;
- (b) *nuxordən dubəm* “I was not eating”

Form 2a: present progressive tense

- (a) *karə* + prs. stem + (*-əm, -i, -ə, -im, -id, -ənd*):

karə xorəm
karə xori
karə xorə
karə xorim
karə xorid
karə xorən(d)

Form 2b: past progressive tense

karə + pst. stem + (-*im*, -*i*, -*i*, -*im*, -*id*, -*id*):

karə xordim

karə xordi

karə xordi

karə xordim

karə xordid

karə xordid

Form 3a: present progressive tense

karə + infinitive + locative *dər* + (-*əm*, -*i*, -*ə*, -*im*, -*id*, -*ən[d]*):

goftən “to say”

karə goftən darəm

karə goftən dari

karə goftən darə

karə goftən darim

karə goftən darid

karə goftən darən(d)

Form 3b: past progressive tense

karə + infinitive + locative *də* + *bu-* + (-*əm*, -*i*, -*ə/-u*, -*im*, -*id*, -*ən[d]*):

karə goftən dubəm

karə goftən dubi

karə goftən dubu

karə goftən dubim

karə goftən dubid

karə goftən dubən(d)

Progressive patterns in EGil.

Form 4a: present progressive tense

Infinitive (minus final *n*) + locative *dər* + (*-əm*, *-i*, *-ə*, *-im*, *-in*, *-ən*):

amən “to come” (Lāhiḡāni)

ama dərəm

ama dəri

ama dərə

ama dərīm

ama dərīn

ama dərən

hamən “to come” (Rudsari)

hama darəm

hama dari

hama darə

hamə darīm

hamə darīn

hamə darən

katən “to fall” (Rudsari)

katə darəm

katə dari

katə darə

katə darīm

katə darīn

katə darən

The negative marker *nə-* is added after *dər* with assimilation of *-rn-* to *-nn-*:

ama dənnəm “I am not coming”.

Form 4b: past progressive tense

Infinitive (minus final *n*) + locative *də* + *bu-* (*-m*, *-i*, *-o*, *-im*, *-in*, *-on*)

xordən “to eat” (Lāhiḡāni) *amən* “to come” (Siāhkali) *dədən* “to run” (Rudsari)

xordə dəbom *ama dəbom* *dəda bum*

xordə dəbi *ama dəbi* *dəda bi*

xordə dəbo *ama dəbo* *dəda bu*

xordə dəbim *ama dəbim* *dəda bim*

xordə dəbin *ama dəbin* *dəda bin*

xordə debon

ama dəbon

dəda bun

The negative marker *nə* is added after locative *də*:

dədanə bum “I was not running”.

For Lāhiĵāni, Stilo (2018: 737) gives a second form with *ka* inserted between the two elements:

gute ka darəm “I am saying”;

gute ka dubum “I was saying”.

The locative *də* changes to *nə/na* in Amlaši⁴ and Rudsari (Amāni 1391: 107) by assimilation to the preceding *-n-* of the infinitive:

hamən “to come” (Amlaši)

hamənabam < **hamen-na-bam* < **hamen-dar-bam*

hamenabi

hamə nabim

hamə nabim

hame nabin

hamə naban

furuxtən “to sell” (Rudsari)

furuxtənabum

furuxtənbi

furuxtənabu

furuxtənabim

furuxtənabin

furuxtənabun

činən “to pick up” (Rudsari)

činabum

činabi

činabu

činabim

činabin

činabun

4 More discussion of issues related to the structures of the verb in Amlaši can be found in Ranĵbar and Rādmard 2003: 82.

The locative *də* (< **dar*) appears as *ar-* in Hassan Kiyādeh (Kalbāsi 1382: 91):

sut arom “I am burning”;

sut arabom “I was burning”.

Future tense

In Rašti, the future tense is as follows:

xa-y- (-*əm*, -*i*, -*e*, -*im*, -*id*, -*an*) + infinitive:

xayəm šun “I will go”;

naxayəm šun “I will not go”.

In Fum. and EGil., the future tense is as follows:

xa-y- (-*əm*, -*i*, -*e*, -*im*, -*id*, -*an*) + prefix *bu* (< *bə*) + prs. stem+ -*əm*, -*i*, -*e*, -*im*, -*id*, -*an*:

xayəm bušəm “I will go”;

naxayəm bušəm “I will not go”.

xa-n- (with or without -*əm*, -*i*, -*e*, -*im*, -*in*, -*ən*) + prefix *ba* + prs. stem+ -*əm*, -*i*, -*e*, -*im*, -*in*, -*ən*:

xanəm bašəm “I will go”;

xan bašəm “id.”;

naxanem bašəm “I will not go”

naxan bašəm “id.”.

Lexical differences

There are many cases where WGil. and EGil. use two distinct words to express a given concept. These differences sometimes are so great that speakers of the two varieties cannot or can hardly communicate with each other.

WGil.	EGil.	
<i>usadən</i>	<i>vitən</i>	“to take”
<i>giftən</i>	<i>aytən</i>	“to take, hold”
<i>dukuštən</i>	<i>dəmərdən</i>	“to extinguish”
<i>bostən</i>	<i>vakətən</i>	“to become”
<i>učən</i>	<i>fičən</i>	“to gather”
<i>zən</i>	<i>zan</i>	“to hit”
<i>zan</i>	<i>čən</i>	“to bear”
<i>vašadən</i>	<i>varganən</i>	“to expand”
<i>kor</i>	<i>laku</i>	“girl”
<i>rey</i>	<i>rika</i>	“boy”

Loanwords in Gilaki

Russian loanwords in Gilaki

The first commercial and diplomatic relations between Russia and Iran date back to the 16th century. These relations began when a Volga-Caspian route began developing in 1550 to connect western Europe to Iran via Russia. During the 18th and 19th centuries, this contact increased and the local rulers of Gilān established direct diplomatic relations with Russia. The increasing contacts led to the expansion of foreign trade and the rise of maritime transportation in the Caspian Sea, which facilitated the expansion of Russian activities in Gilān and caused the rise in production and export of silk, fish and rice, as well as other goods including olives and timbers.

The Russian loanwords in Gilaki can be classified in the following categories:

(1) civil and military words:

- Gil. *boška* “wooden or metal barrel” < Russ. бочка “id.”;
- Gil. *daška* “handbarrow” < Russ. дружка “horse-drawn carriage”;
- Gil. *lotka* “small boat” < Russ. лодка “id.”;
- Gil. *zapas* “spare” < Russ. запасной “id.”;
- Gil. *saldat* “soldier” < Russ. солдат “id.”;
- Gil. *putin* “boot” < Russ. ботинки “id.”;
- Gil. *bot* “boot” < Russ. боты “id.”.

(2) loanwords related to government and politics:

- Gil. *tuxmə bolševik* “bastard” < Russ. большевик “bolshevik”;
- Gil. *duma* “council” < Russ. дума “thought”;
- Gil. *zakon* “law” < Russ. закон “id.”.

(3) loanwords related to food stuffs, food production, fabrics and tools:

- Gil. *istakan* “tea cup” < Russ. стакан “glass”;
- Gil. *samavar* “samovar” < Russ. самовар “id.”;
- Gil. *suxari* “type of light pastry” < Russ. сухари “crackers”;
- Gil. *vodka* “vodka” < Russ. водка “id.”;
- Gil. *sibiška* “flower seed” < Russ. семечко “id.”;
- Gil. *pomoder* “tomato” < Russ. помодор “id.”;
- Gil. *badarə* “bucket” < Russ. ведро “id.”;
- Gil. *šot* “brush” < Russ. щетка “id.”;
- Gil. *nasuz* “pump” < Russ. насос “id.”;
- Gil. *abuška* “window” < Russ. окошка “id.”;
- Gil. *razinka* “slingshot” < Russ. резина “rubber, elastic material”.

(4) words for clothes:

- Gil. *paltu* “overcoat” < Russ. пальто “id.”;
- Gil. *ĵelixə* “waistcoat” < Russ. жилетка “id.”;
- Gil. *zamaska* “luting” < Russ. замазка “id.”;
- Gil. *fastuni* “a type of delicate velvet” < Russ. бостон “id.”;
- Gil. *sasun* “pleats” < Russ. сасун “id.”;
- Gil. *mitxal* “calico” < Russ. миткаль “id.”;

- Gil. *galuš* “waterproof plastic shoe” < Russ. галуш/калуш “galosh”.
- (5) words for measures and monetary units:
- Gil. *put/pud* “36 pounds” < Russ. пуд “id.”;
- Gil. *aršin* “a measure of length” < Russ. аршин “id.”;
- Gil. *dujin* “dozen” < Russ. дюжина “id.”;
- Gil. *manat* “precious (silver or golden) coin used as necklace pendant” < Russ. монет “rouble”⁵.
- (6) words for fishes (Seyed-Āqāyi Rezāyi and Hoseyni 1393: 21-45):
- Gil. *kafal* “*Liza saliens* Risso, mullet” < Russ. кефаль “id.”;
- Gil. *kilka* “a sprat-like fish (of the *Clupeonella* genus)” < Russ. килька “id.”;
- Gil. *salitka* “a herring-like fish (of the *Clupeidae* family)” < Russ. селёдка “id.”;
- Gil. *čabak* “*Rutilus rutilus caspicus*” < Russ. чебак “id.”.

Persian loanwords in Gilaki

Gilaki has been in contact with Persian for a long time. Stilo (2018: 667) considers a number of loanwords to go back to earlier stages of the prehistory of Caspian languages. Some examples follow:

dan- “to know” prs. stem, cf. CTāl. *zon-*, STāl. *zan-* < Ir. **džā-nā-*, cf. Av. *zā-nā-*, OP *dā-nā-* (cf. § 12.2);

zənay, zən “woman, wife”, cf. CTāl. *jan*, STāl. (Māsuleh, Fuman, Šaft) *yən* < Ir. **janī-*, cf. Av. *janī-*, OInd. *janī-* (cf. § 22.1a).

More recently, further words have been borrowed from Persian into Gilaki. In more traditional varieties, the original Gilaki words are preserved and used by older generation, while in more innovative varieties, the Persian loans increase in frequency (Stilo 2018: 667) and are used more by young and middle-aged generations⁶. Examples of Persian loanwords in my data include the following:

⁵ More discussion of issues related to the origin of *manāt* in Persian and other Iranian languages can be found in Hassanzadeh-Nodehi and Maggi (forthcoming).

⁶ More discussion of issues related to typological shift in Gilaki from one generation to the next can be found in Hassanzadeh-Nodehi, Anderson and Heggarty (forthcoming).

	Genuine Gilaki words	Persian loanwords
“bee”	<i>garzag</i>	<i>zanbur</i>
“egg”	<i>morqane</i>	<i>toxme morq</i>
“sparrow”	<i>čičini</i>	<i>gunješk</i>
“hungry”	<i>višta</i>	<i>gorəsne</i>
“frog”	<i>gozga</i>	<i>qorbaqa</i>
“pepper”	<i>germalat</i>	<i>felfel</i>
“hungry”	<i>putal</i>	<i>morče</i>
“rope”	<i>lafand</i>	<i>tanab</i>
“face”	<i>dim</i>	<i>sorat</i>
“tooth”	<i>gaz</i>	<i>dandan</i>

Historical phonology of Gilaki

In this chapter, words from other languages quoted in comparisons with Gilaki are basically taken from the following sources: MacKenzie 1986 for Middle Persian, Durkin-Meisterernst 2004 for Parthian, Hasandust 1393 for New Persian, Bartholomae 1904 (adapted to Kark Hoffman's transliteration) for Avestan, Schmitt 2014 for Old Persian and Cheung 2007 for the Iranian verbs.

Phonemes of Proto-Iranian

	Labial	Dental	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Laryngeal	Glottal
Nasal	m	n					
Occlusive	p b	t d			k g		
Affricate			tʃ dʒ	č ĵ			h
Fricative	f	θ			x	H	
Sibilant		s z		š ž			
Trill		r					
Lateral		l					
Approximant	ʋ			j			

	Front	Central	Back
High	i ī		u ū
Low		a ā	

Phonemes of Gilaki

	Labial	Denti-alve- olar	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Occlusive	p b		t d		k g	ʔ
Fricative		f v	s z	š ž ⁷	x γ	h
Affricate				č ĵ		
Nasal	m		n			
Lateral			l			
Approximant				y		
Trill			r			

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Central	e	ə	o
Low		a ₁	ā ₂

Historical correspondences

Vowels

Iranian and non-Iranian scholars have described the vowel system of Gilaki in different ways. Arthur Christensen (1930: 39) suggested twenty one vowels and Rastorgueva et al. (2012: 7) believed that there are nine vowels in Gilaki (*i, ī, e, ə, a, ā, o, u, ū*). According to Stilo (2001: 661) there are six or seven vowels in Gilaki (*i, u, e, o, ə, a₁, a₂*).

Contrary to Christensen's and Rastorgueva's claim, I find that there are actually no more than seven vowels in Gilaki (*i, u, e, o, ə, a₁, a₂*). As Stilo (2001: 661) mentions, *a₁* and *a₂* are pronounced the same in different linguistic contexts, however, *a₁*

⁷ “There is no strong evidence for /ž/ in Mazanderani, Gilaki, or S. Tati. The four examples that Jahāngiri (2003: 28) adduces mostly occur in the context VžC and probably do not contrast with /j/” (Stilo 2018: 677).

has a wider allophonic distribution. The a_2 is considered as a late vowel in Gilaki under strong influence of Persian.

a_1 goes back to Ir.* a (1) at the beginning of a word before two consonants and (2) after “ h ” in the initial syllable of a word.

“In the process of transformation of Gilaki vocalism, two main factors acted: (1) its own internal laws of development, expressed (as in other new Iranian languages) in gradually highlighting the quality of vowels as the main phonological attribute and in the associated weakening of their distinction through duration, (2) the influence of Persian, especially in cities. In the course of their internal development, * a and * \bar{a} drifted in their qualitative characteristics: * a , having moved in the central range and slightly narrowed, passed into /ə/, * \bar{a} lost its duration and passed into /a/”⁸. (my translation, p.459, PKYa)

According to Rastorgueva and Èdel'man, the position of $\bar{i} \sim i$, $\bar{u} \sim u$ are preserved and quantitatively stable /e/, /o/, /ā/ continue earlier /ē/, /ō/, /ā/ and this makes it possible to restore, for an earlier stage of Gilaki or Old Gilaki, as they call it (Russ. старогиланский), an inventory of eight phonemes similar to the Parthian and Middle Persian ones: /i/, /ī/, /ē/, /a/, /ā/, /u/, /ū/, /ō/. (Rastorgueva and Èdel'man 1982: 459)

They claim that the relic phoneme /ū/, existing only in open pre-tonic syllable, in those few words where it is recorded goes back to OGil. */ō/ < Ir. * au (Rastorgueva and Èdel'man 1982: 459). In my opinion, [ū] is an allophone of /u/ and Gil. o goes back to /ō/ < Ir. * au .

8 В процессе дальнейшего преобразования гиланского вокализма действовали два основных фактора: 1) собственные внутренние закономерности развития, выразившиеся (как и в других новоиранских языках) в постепенном выдвигании на первый план качества гласных, как основного фонологического признака, и в связанном с этим ослаблении их различия по длительности, 2) влияние персидского языка, очень сильное, особенно в городах. В ходе собственного, внутреннего развития: разошлись в своей качественной характеристике * a и * \bar{a} : * a , отодвинувшись назад, в нейтральный ряд и слегка сузившись, перешло в /ə/, * \bar{a} утратило длительность и перешло в /a/.

In a number of cases, /e/ and /o/ have already developed in a later period on the basis of a contraction: *e* < **ida*, **ada* (obviously, through intermediate **iya*, **aya*), *o* < **ava*, **av*, **au*. (Rastorgueva and Ėdel'man 1982: 459)

MacKenzie (1984: 54) maintains that the distinction between *i* < **i* and *e* < **ē* still be observed in a number of words, e.g. *der* “late”, *mex* “nail”, *seb* “apple”, *teγ* “sword”, against *šir* “milk”, *sir* “garlic”, *dim* “face”, *tij* “sharp” (instead of expected **šer*, **dem*, **tej*). However, he mentions that two words with initial *ē*- in MP, i.e. *ē(w)* “one” and *ēč* “none” are *i* and *ič* respectively in Gilaki.

Purhādi (1397: 38) also claims that *ē* and *ī* exist as two phonemes in Gilaki, e.g. *dēr* “late”, *sēr* “garlic” and *bī* “you were” against *bi* “without”. In my opinion, there is no difference between *bī* and *bi*. In other words, *bī* and *bi* can not be considered as a minimal pair as Purhādi has it, while [ē] and [ī] are two allophones of *e* and *i*.

The history of the Gilaki vowels appears to be as follows⁹ in relation to the ancient Iranian languages and the common Iranian proto-language.

§ 1 Gilaki /i/

[PKYa 460-61]

The phoneme /i/, in which, as we showed above, three vowel phonemes **i*, **ī*, **ē* of an earlier (Middle Iranian) period of development of the given language partially merged, has three main lines of their etymological correspondences:

(1) /i/ < OGil. **i* goes back to Ir. **i* or originated from Ir. **ī* in the clusters **īd*, **īš*, **īb*. Examples:

⁹ The following paragraphs are mainly a remake, with corrections, additions, and deletions, of the treatment of the historical phonology of Gilaki by V. S. Rastorgueva and D. I. Ėdel'man in their chapter “Gilyanskii, mazanderanskii (s dyalektami šamerzadi i Velatru)” = “Čast' II: Prikaspijskie yazyki” (Rastorgueva and Ėdel'man 1982, henceforth PKYa for short). Reference to their work is made at the beginning of each paragraph. Corrections of Gilaki words are made tacitly, other corrections are signalled by “PKYa differs” and additions by “not in PKYa” or reference to other works, while deletions are not signalled.

(a) /i/ < Ir. *i

- Gil. *niga(h)* “look, glance”, cf. MP *nigāh* < Ir. **ni-kāts-*, cf. Av. *kas-* “to perceive, see”;
- Gil. *nifrin* “curse”, cf. MP *nifrīn* < Ir. **ni-frīn-*, cf. Av. *frāy-* “to please”;
- Gil. *imšab* “tonight”, cf. NP *imšab* < Ir. **ima* “this”, *xšap-* “night”, cf. Av., OP *ima-*, Av., OP *xšap-*.

(b) /i/ < Ir. *ṛ (in the clusters *ṛs, *ṛš):

- Gil. *višta* “hungry”, cf. NP *gorosne, gošne* < Ir. **ṛsna-ka-*.

(2) /i/ < OGil. *ī goes back to Ir. *ī:

- Gil. *bim* “fear”, cf. MP *bīm* < Ir. **bīma-*, cf. OInd. *bhīma-* “scary”;
- Gil. *šir* “milk”, cf. MP *šīr* < Ir. **xšīra-*, cf. OInd. *kṣīra-*;
- Gil. *bist* “twenty” < Ir. **ṽīsati-*, cf. Av. *vīsaiti-* (in the derivative *vīsaitiuuant-* “twentyfold”).

(3) /i/ < OGil. *ī is also found in the sequence *ir* < OGil. *īr:

(a) from Ir. **irīa* (**ṛīa*):

- Gil. *mir-* prs. stem “to die” < Ir. **mṛ-ia-*, cf. Av. *mirīia-*.

(b) from Ir. **igr* (> **īyr* > **īr* > *ir*):

- Gil. *tir* “arrow, shot”, cf. MP *tīr* < Ir. **tigri-* “arrow”, cf. Av. *tiyri-* and *tiyra-* “sharp”.

(4) /i/ < OGil. *ē goes back to Ir. **ai*, **ahīa*. Examples:

(a) /i/ < Ir. **ai*:

- Gil. *gis* “braid (braided hair)” < Ir. **gaitśa-*, cf. Av. *gaēsa-* “curly hair”;
- Gil. *bid* “willow” MP *wēd* < Ir. **uaiti-*, cf. Av. *vaēti-*;
- Gil. *din* “religion”, cf. MP *dēn* < OIr. **dajñā-*, cf. Av. *daēnā-*;
- Gil. *i* “one”, cf. MP *ēw* < Ir. **aiya-*, cf. Av. *aēuua-*, OP *aiva-*;
- Gil. *kinə* “grudge, hatred” < Ir. **kaina-ka-*, cf. Av. *kaēnā-* “punishment, revenge”;
- Gil. *himə* “firewood” < Ir. **aidźma-ka-*, cf. Av. *aēsma-*.

(b) /i/ < Ir. *ahja:

- Gil. *ki/ke* “who, who?” < Ir. *kahja gen. sg. from *ka- “who?”, cf. Av. *ka-*;
- Gil. *či* “what?” < OIr. *čahja thematized gen.sg. from *či-, cf. OP *ci*.

(5) /i/ < Ir. *a under the influence of neighboring consonants involving palatal articulation (š, ĵ, ĵ):

- Gil. *šiš* “six”, cf. MP *šāš* < Ir. *xšuaš, Av. *xšuuas*;
- Gil. *ĵigər* “liver”, MP *ĵagar* < Ir. *yākar-, cf. Av. *yākar-*, OInd. *yākr̥t-*.

(6) /i/ instead of *ə < *a (cf. § 4.1) is also found in a series of words in initial pre-tonic syllable:

- Gil. *hizar* “thousand”, cf. MP *hazār* < Ir. *hazahra-, cf. Av. *hazaṇra-*, OInd. *sa-hasra-*;
- Gil. *pinhan* “hidden” < Mlr. *pa-nihān; (Hübschmann 1895: 128);
- Gil. *bə/bi* “in, to, on” proclitic < Ir. *pati, cf. Av. *paiti*, OP *pati*.

(7) formed as a result of the contraction of Ir. *ida (> *iḍa > *iya > *ē > OGil. *ī* in open, pre-tonic syllable):

- Gil. *bivə* “widow”, cf. MP *wēwag* < Ir. *uidaṇā-, cf. Av. *viḍauuā-*, OInd. *vid-havā-*.

§ 2 Gilaki /e/

[PKYa 461]

The phoneme /e/ has the following lines of etymological correspondences:

(1) /e/ < Ir. *ai:

- Gil. *me(h)man* “guest”, cf. MP *mehmān* < Ir. *maiθman-, cf. Av. *miθ-* “to rest, dwell”, *maēθana-* “dwelling”;
- Gil. *teĵ* “sharp, swift” MP *tēz* < Ir. *taija-, cf. Av. *brōiθrō-taēža-* “with sharp edge”.

(2) /e/ < *ī*

- Gil. *šerən* “sweet” cf. MP. < Ir. *xšīrainā;
- Gil. *deroz* “yesterday” < Mlr. *dīg “other” + *rōz-* “day”, cf. MP *dīg* + *rōz*.

(3) /e/ < Ir. *a₁ia, *ah₁ia, *a₁iu, *ah₁iu:

- Gil. *se* “three”, cf. MP *sē* < Ir. *θra₁ia_h, cf. Av. θraiiō;
- Gil. *ki/ke* “who, who?” < Ir. *kah₁ia gen. sg. from *ka- “who?”, cf. Av. ka-;
- Gil. *mex* “nail” < Ir. *maj₁ūxa-, cf. OP *mayūxa-* “doorknob”, OInd. *mayūkha-* “peg”;
- Gil. *dehat/dihat* (*deh* “village”+ *at*) “countryside”, MP *deh* < Ir. *dah₁iu-, cf. OP *dahyu-* “country, land”.

(4) /e/ in the sequence *er* < *ayr < *ayr < *agr < Ir. *arg by metathesis:

- Gil. *der* “late” < Mlr. *dagr, cf. MP *dagr* “long” < Ir. *darga-, cf. Av. darāga-, *darga-*;
- Gil. *ser* “full” < Mlr. *sagr, cf. MP *sagr* < Ir. *sarga- (?).

(5) /e/ goes back to Ir. *ādi, ida:

(a) /e/ as a result of the contraction (in the late New Iranian period) from *ādi:

- Gil. *re* “for” < Ir. *rādī, cf. OP *rādī*.

(b) /e/ < Ir. *ida:

- Gil. *per* “father”, MP *pidar* < *pidar*
- Gil. *rasen* “to arrive”, MP *rasīdan* < *rasidan*
- Gil. *čen* “to pick”, MP *čīdan* < *čiden*
- Gil. *kāšen* “to draw, drag” < *kešidan*.

(6)

(a) /e/ < *i in the position before *h*:

- Gil. *me(h)r* “love, affection”, cf. MP *mihr* < Ir. *miθra-, cf. Av. miθra- 1) “contract, agreement”, 2) “Mithra (the sun god)”, OInd. *mitra-* “friend”.

(b) in Arabic words also before *h* < ɣ (-‘-) (in the late New Iranian period)

- *ih̄timal* “probability” < NP *ehtemāl* < Ar. *iḥtimāl*
- *i‘terz* “protest” < NP *e‘terāž* < Ar. *i‘tirāž*.

(7) In the speech of the intelligentsia under the influence of the Persian language /e/ appears in some words instead of /i/:

- Gil. *kelm* “worm” < *kilm* (cf. NP *kerm*);
- Gil. *behešt* “paradise” < *bihišt* (cf. NP *behešt*);
- Gil. *čel/čehel* “forthy” < *čil/čihil* (cf. NP *čehel*).

(8) The transition *ay* > *ey* is also apparently due to the influence of the Persian language:

- Gil. *peyda* “visible, evident” (cf. NP *peydā*) < *paydā*;
- Gil. *peyman* “treaty” (cf. NP *peymān*) < *payman*;
- Gil. *ney* “flute” (cf. NP *ney*) < *nay*.

§ 3 Gilaki /a₁/

[PKYa 461-62]

The phoneme /a₁/ has two main lines of historical correspondences:

(1) /a₁/ < Ir. **a* is consistently preserved:

(a) at the beginning of a word before two consonants:

- Gil. *abr* “cloud”, cf. MP *abr* < Ir. **abra-*, cf. Av. *aβra-*, OInd. *abhra-*;
- *angušt* “finger”, cf. Parth. *angušt* < Ir. **angušta-*, cf. Av. *angušta-*;
- Gil. *arzəš* “value”, *arzan* “cheap” < **arz* < Ir. **arjah-*, cf. Av. *arəjah-* “value, price”.

(b) after **h* in the initial syllable of a word (regardless of whether *h* is preserved or disappears in Gilaki);

- Gil. *agə* “if”, MP *agar*, cf. Av. *hakəraṭ* “once”, OP *hakaram*;
- Gil. *hamə* “all”, cf. MP *hamāg* < Ir. **hama-ka-*, cf. Av. *hama-* “each”, OInd. *sama-*;
- Gil. *(h)aft* “seven”, cf. MP *haft* < Ir. **hafta*, cf. Av. *hapta*, OInd. *sapta*.

(2) Less consistently /a/ < Ir. **a* is preserved:

(a) before *h* < Ir. **θ*:

- Gil. *pa(h)n* “wide” < Ir. **paθana-*, cf. Av. *paθana-*.

(b) before (h)l < Ir. *rtś:

- Gil. *pahlu*, *pali* “side, flank”, cf. Ir. **partśu*-, cf. Av. *parəsu*-, *pəṛəsu*- “rib, side”;

(c) before (h)r < Ir. *θr:

- Gil. *ša(h)r* “city”, cf. MP *šahr* “land, country” < Ir. **xšaθra*-, cf. Av. *xšaθra*-, OP *xšaça*-, OInd. *kṣatra*-.

Along with this, in this position /ə/ < Ir. *a is possible (see below).

(3) Less often (obviously, under the influence of the Persian language) /a₁/ < Ir. *a in other positions, usually in parallel with /ə/:

- Gil. *xər/xar* “donkey” < Ir. **xara*-, cf. Av. *xara*-.

§ 4 Gilaki /a₂/

[PKYa 462]

(1) /a₂/ < Ir. *ā:

- Gil. *rast* “true, right, straight”, cf. MP *rāst* < Ir. **rātśta*-, cf. Av. *rāšta*-, OP *rāsta*;
- Gil. *šad* “happy”, cf. MP *šād* < Ir. **čīāta*-, cf. OAv. *šiiāta*-, OP *šiyāta*;
- Gil. *pəs/z* “then, later”, cf. MP *pas* < Ir. **pasčā*-, cf. Av. *pasca*-, OP *pasā*-, OInd. *paścā*-.

(2) According to Rastorgueva and Ėdel'man, the phoneme /ā/, borrowed from Persian, in a number of words replaced Gilaki proper /a₂/ where it goes back to earlier *ā (from Ir. *ā, *āya or less often, from Ir. *a):

(a)

- Gil. *ab* “water” < Ir. **āp*-, cf. Av. *āp*-, OP *ap*-;
- Gil. *nam* “name”, cf. MP *nām* < Ir. **nāman*-, cf. Av. *nāman*-, OP *nāman*-, OInd. *nāman*-;
- Gil. *pak* “clean”, cf. MP *pāk* < Ir. **pāyaka*-, NP *pāk*-, cf. OInd. *pāvaka*-;
- Gil. *tar* “darkness” < OGil. **tār* < Ir. **tanθra*-, cf. Av. *tqθra*- “darkness”, *tqθriia*- “dark”;
- Gil. *hizar* “thousand”, cf. MP *hazār* < Ir. **hazahra*-, cf. Av. *hazaṇra*-, OInd. *sa-hasra*-.

(b) Often in such cases there is a parallel pronunciation \bar{a}/a_2 among young generation

- Gil. *sāl/sal* “year”, cf. MP *sāl* < Ir. **sard-*, cf. Av. *sarəd-*, OP *θard-*;
- Gil. *šām/šam* “dinner”, MP *šām*, cf. Av. *xšafnīia-* “night, dinner”;
- Gil. *mā/ma* “moon, month”, cf. MP *māh* < Ir. **māh*, cf. Av. *māh*, OP *māh-* “month”, OInd. *mās-*.

§ 5 Gilaki /ə/

[PKYa 462-63]

(1) The phoneme /ə/ goes back to Ir. **a* in all cases, except the initial position before two consonants and the position before *h* in the first syllable of a word (where /*a*/ is kept, see above):

- Gil. *sər* “head” cf. MP *sar* < Ir. *tšarah-*, Av. *sarah-*, OInd. *śiras-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 355);
- Gil. *bəhar/vəhar* “spring”, cf. MP *wahār* < Ir. **uāhāra-*, cf. Av. *vaṇhar-*, OP *°vāhara-*;
- Gil. *sayə* “shadow” < Ir. **stšāja-ka-*, cf. Av. *a-saiia-* “not casting, not having a shadow”, OInd. *chāyā-*.

(2) There are frequent cases of parallel use of \bar{a}/a (*a* in this case, perhaps, under the influence of Persian *a*):

- Gil. *mərg/marg* “death”, cf. MP *marg* < Ir. **marka-*, cf. Av. *mahrka-*, *maraka-*;
- Gil. *xər/xar* “donkey”, cf. MP *xar* < Ir. **xara-*, cf. Av. *xara-*.

(3) In final position, there is regularly \bar{a} :

- *xanə* “home”, cf. NP *xāne*;
- *šanə* “comb, shoulder”, cf. NP *šāne*.

(4) /ə/ < OGil. **i* comes from different antecedents:

(a) from Ir. **i*:

- Gil. *baləš* “pillow” < OGil. **bāliš* < Ir. **bardziš-*, cf. Av. *barəziš-*.

(b) from Ir. **īua*:

- Gil. *zəndə* “alive” < OGil. **zinda* < MIr. **jīwanda* < OIr. **jīuanta-ka-*, cf. Av. *jūua-* prs. stem from root **jaiH-* “to live”.

(c) in the sequences *ars/əš* < OGil. **ir*/**iš* < Ir. **rš*:

- Gil. *xərs* “bear” < OGil. **xirs*, cf. MP *xirs* < *Ir. *rša-*, cf. Av. *arša-*;
- Gil. *kəšt-* “to plant” < OGil. **kišt-* cf. MP, Parth *kišt-* pret. stem “to sow” < *Ir. *kṛšta-* from *karš-*, cf. Av. *karš-* “to make a furrow, plow”.

(d) from OGil. **ē* < Ir. **ai*:

- Gil. *ferəštə* “angel” < OGil. **firēšta*, cf. MP *frēstag* < *Ir. *fraišta-ka-*, cf. Av. *fraēšta-* “ambassador, messenger”;
- Gil. *zəndān* “prison” < OGil. **zēndān*, cf. MP *zēndān* with **zēn* < *Ir. *zaina-* “weapon”, cf. Av. *zaēna-*.

(5) /ə/ < OGil. **u* in the sequence *ər* < **ur* < Ir. **r* after labial consonants:

- Gil. *mərd* pst. stem “to die” < OGil. **murd-*, cf. MP *murd* < *Ir. *mṛta-*, cf. Av. *mərəta-* pst. ptcp. from *mar-* “to die”;
- Gil. *vavərs-/vapərs-* prs. stem “to ask” < OGil. **va-purs-* < Ir. **prstša-*, cf. Av. *pərəsa-*.

(6) in words of Arabic origin /ə/ < **u* occurs regularly in the initial *mə-* < *mu-* before ع (-‘-) (dropped in Gilaki) and before *h*:

- Gil. *məalləm* “teacher” < *Ar. *mu‘allim*;
- Gil. *məalləjə* “treatment” < *Ar. *mu‘ālija*’;
- Gil. *məhafəzə* “protection” < *Ar. *muḥāfiẓa*.

(7) In old initial consonants clusters, Gilaki inserts, anaptyctic /ə/, maybe from an earlier anaptyctic **i* (cf. Middle Persian, Tajiki.):

- Gil. *dəraz* “long”, cf. MP *drāz* < Ir. **drājīah-*, cf. Av. *drājah-* “length”, *drājiiō* (*drājīiah-*) “farther”;
- Gil. *setarə* “star” < MIr. **stārag*, MP *stārag*, cf. Ir. **stār-*, Av. *stār-*;
- Gil. *dəraxt* “tree”, cf. MP *draxt* < Ir. **draxta-* “firmly standing”, cf. Av. *draxta-* pst. ptcp. from *draṅg-* “to strengthen”;

- Gil. *sifid* “white”, cf. MP *ispēd* < Ir. **spaita*-, cf. Av. *spaēta*-, OInd. *śveta*-.

§ 6 Gilaki /u/

[PKYa 463-64]

The phoneme /u/, in which, as we have said, the three vowel phonemes **u*, **ū*, **ō* of the Old Gilaki language have partially merged, has respectively three main lines of historical correspondences.

(1) /u/ < OGil. **u* goes back to Ir. **u* or formed on the basis of Ir. **r̥* (Gil. *ur* < Ir. **r̥* after labial consonants). Examples:

(a) /u/ < Ir. **u*:

- Gil. *dumb* “tail”, cf. MP *dum(b)* < Ir. **duma*-/*dumba*-, cf. Av. *duma*-;
- Gil. *surx* “red” < Ir. **śuxra*-, cf. Av. *suxra*-;
- Gil. *xum* “clay vessel” < Ir. **xumba*-, cf. Av. *xumba*-, OInd. *kumbha*-.

(b) /u/ in the sequence *ur* < Ir. **r̥*:

- Gil. *mur̥y* “chicken, bird” < Ir. **m̥rga*-, cf. Av. *m̥r̥əya*-;
- Gil. *pušt* “back” < Ir. **p̥r̥šti*-, cf. Av. *par̥šti*-, *par̥šta*-, OInd. *p̥r̥ṣṭi*- “rib”;
- Gil. *purt/purd* “bridge” < Ir. **p̥rtu*-, cf. Av. *p̥r̥ətu*- “crossing (through water), bridge” (Stilo 2001: 660).

(2) /u/ < Ir. **a* after **h̥u*:

- Gil. *xu/xo* “oneself, own” < Ir. **h̥uatah*, cf. Av. *x̥atō*, OInd. *svataḥ*;
- Gil. *xuda* “God”, cf. MP *xwadāy* “lord”;
- Gil. *xuš* “pleasant”, cf. MP *xwaš* “nice, good”.

(3) /u/ < OGil. **u* goes back to Ir. **ū*:

- Gil. *muš* “mouse”, cf. MP *mūš* < Ir. **mūš*-, cf. Av. *mūš*-, OInd. *mūṣ*-;
- Gil. *abru* “eyebrow”, cf. MP *brūg* < Ir. **brūka*-, cf. Av. *bruuat*-, OInd. *bhrū*-.

(4) /u/ < OGil. **ō* goes back to Ir. **aṇa*. Examples:

- Gil. *pust* “skin” < Ir. **pauastā*-, cf. OP *pavastā*- “clay shell wrapping”, OInd. *pavasta*- “cover”;
- Gil. *firu* “down” < Ir. **fraṇata*-, cf. OP *fravata*- “forward, down”.

(5) Also, there are not always explicable transitions in individual words as a result of late phonetic /u/ < *ā:

(a) /u/ < OGil. *ā before /n/ (maybe under the influence of colloquial Persian) in the words:

- Gil. *u/un* “that” < OGil. *ān-, cf. MP *ān*, ClP. *ān*;
- Gil. *hu* “that same” < *hamān, cf. ClP. *hamān*.

(b) /u/ < OGil. *a in the words:

- Gil. *čum* “eye” < *OGil. *čašm* < *Ir. *čašman*;
- Gil. *xaxur* “sister” < Ir. *h_uāhar-, cf. Av. *x^ʷayhar-*, OInd. *svasar-*.

(c) /u/ < OGil. *i in the word:

- Gil. *muždə* “good news” < *mizdə- < *Ir. *mīždə-ka-*, cf. Av. *mīžda-* “payment, remuneration”.

(d) /u/ < Ir. *i in the initial syllable *gu* < Ir. **ui* (maybe under the influence of the Persian language):

- Gil. *guzər-* prs. stem “to pass” < MIr. **wiḍar-*, cf. Parth. *widar-* [*wiḍar-*], MP *widar-* [*wiḍar-*] < *Ir. *ui-* + *tar-*, Av. *tar-*, OP *tar-* “to go over, cross”;
- Gil. *guman* “doubt”, Ir. **ui-* + *man-*, cf. Av. *man-* “to think”;
- Gil. *guna* “sin” < **gunāh* < MIr. **wināh*, cf. MP *wināh* < Ir. **ui-* + *nats-*, cf. Av. *nas-* “to disappear, die”, with the preverb *vi-* “to be doomed to death”.

(e) In some rare cases /u/ < Ir. **ui*:

- Gil. *usə* “despatch”, cf. MP *wise-* < Ir. **ui-saida-*.

(6) Anaptyctic /u/ appeared in the New Iranian period between two initial consonants (usually before /u/, /o/):

- Gil. *sutun* “pillar, column” < Ir. **stūna-*, cf. OP *stūna-*;
- Gil. *xuros* “rooster” (loanword, cf. Fum. *sugolə*) < **xurōs*, cf. Ir. **xrautś-*, Av. *xraos-* “to cry out”.

§ 7 Gilaki /o/

[PKYa 464-65]

The phoneme /o/ has the following:

(1) goes back to OGil. **ō* < Ir. **au*:

- Gil. *rod* “river” (cf. *ro-xan* < *rod-xan*; *ro-bar* < NP *rod-bār*), cf. MP *rōd* < Ir. **rauta-*, cf. Av. *rautah-*;
- Gil. *doš* “shoulder”, cf. MP *dōš* < Ir. **dauš-*, cf. Av. *daoš-*, OInd. *doṣ-* “forearm”;
- Gil. *doroγ* “lie” < OGil. **drōγ* < Ir. **drauga-*, cf. Av. *draoga-*, *draoγa-*, OP *drauga-*;
- Gil. *do* “buttermilk” < OGil. **dōγ* < Ir. **dauγ-* (Abaev 1958: 364);
- Gil. *goš* “ear” < OGil. **gōš* < Ir. **gauša-*, cf. Av. *gaoša-*, OP *gaṃša*, OInd. *ghoṣa-* “sound”;
- Gil. *roz* “day” < OGil. **rōz* < Ir. **raučah-*, cf. Av. *raočah-*, OP *raucah-*.
- Gil. *rošan* “light” < OGil. **rōšan* < Ir. **rauxšna-*, Av. *raoxšna-*;
- Gil. *royən* “oil” < OGil. **rōyan* < Ir. **rauyna-*, cf. Av. *raoyna-*.

(2) originated in a later period from /u/ before /h/ in words of Iranian and Arabic origin:

- Gil. *konə* “old”; cf. CIP. *kuhna*, Taj. *kūhna*;
- Gil. *mor* “print” < NP *mohr* < Ar. *muhr*;
- Gil. *sobaṭ* “talk” < NP *sohbat* < Ar. *suḥbat*;
- Gil. *mokəm* “fortified, strong” < NP *mohkam* < Ar. *muḥkam*.

(3) originated in a later period as a result of the contraction of *av*:

(a) in Iranian words:

- Gil. *raro* (1) “corridor”, (2) “passer by” < OGil. **rāhrav*, cf. CIP. *rāhrav*;
- Gil. *jo* “barley” < OGil. **jav* < Ir. **jaṃa-*, cf. Av. *yauua-* “cereals, grain”.

(b) in words of Arabic:

- Gil. *dor* “circle” < NP *dowr* < Ar. *dawr*;
- Gil. *tor* “way, manner” < NP *towr* < Ar. *tawr*;
- Gil. *moj* “wave” < NP *mowj* < Ar. *mawj*;
- Gil. *mozu* “subject” < NP *mowzu* < Ar. *mawzū*;
- Gil. *hoz* “pond, basin” < NP *howz* < Ar. *ḥawz*;

- Gil. *dolāt* “government” < NP *dowlat* < Ar. *dawlat*.

(4) originated on the basis of contractions (also in a later period) from some other combinations of sounds:

- Gil. *kotər* “dove” < OGil. **kabutar*, cf. ClP. *kabutar*;
- Gil. *amon* “to come”, cf. ClP. *āmadan*;
- Gil. *šon* “to go”, cf. ClP. *šodan* “to go, become”;
- Gil. *bon* “to be”, cf. ClP. *budan*;
- Gil. *bonə* “pretext, excuse” < OGil. **bahāna*, cf. ClP. *bahāna*;
- Gil. *sobmənsəb* “officer” < NP *šāhebmanšab*.

Consonants

§ 8 Gilaki /p/

[PKYa 482]

The phoneme /p/ goes back to Ir. **p* in the following phonetic positions:

(1) at word beginning before vowels or **r*:

- Gil. *peš* “ahead”, cf. MP. *pēš*, OP *paīšiyā*;
- Gil. *per* “father”, cf. MP *pidar* < Ir. **pitar-*, cf. Av. *pitar-*, OP *pitar-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352);
- Gil. *par* “feather”, cf. MP *parr* < Ir. **parna-*, cf. Av. *parəna-* “feather, wing”, OInd. *parṇa-* “feather, leaf”;
- Gil. *pur* “full”, cf. MP *purr* < Ir. **pṛna-*, cf. Av. *pərəna-*;
- Gil. *pušt* “back”, cf. MP *pušt* < Ir. **pṛšti-*, cf. Av. *paršti-*, *paršta-*, OInd. *pṛṣṭi-* “rib”.

(2) in the consonant cluster **sp* (phonetic feature of North-Western Iranian languages):

- Gil. *asb* “horse”, cf. Av. *aspa-*;
- Gil. *sifid* “white”, cf. MP *ispēd* < Ir. **spaita-*, cf. Av. *spaēta-*, OP *śveta-*.

§ 9 Gilaki /t/

[PKYa 482-83]

The phoneme /t/ goes back to Ir. *t in the following phonetic positions:

(1) at the beginning of a word before vowels:

- Gil. *tarik* “dark”, cf. MP *tārīg*, *tārīk* < Ir. **tanθrja-ka-*, cf. Ir. **tanθra-* “darkness”, Av. *taθra-*, cf. *taθriia-* “dark”;
- Gil. *tu* “you”, cf. MP *tō* < Ir. **taua* gen. sg. “of you”, cf. Av. *tauua*;
- Gil. *tim* “young blade of rice”, cf. MP *tuhm* “seed, family” < Ir. **tauxman-*, cf. Av. *taoxman-* “seed, germ”, OInd. *tokman-* “young blade of corn”;
- Gil. *tir* “arrow, shot”, cf. MP *tīr* < Ir. **tigri-* “arrow”, cf. Av. *tiyri-*, *tiyra-* “sharp”.

Root initial /t/ is also preserved at in verbs with prefixes:

- Gil. *vatakəst-* pst. stem “to wash away”, cf. MP *tāxtan* “to cause to run, flow; chase, pour” < Ir. **tak/č-* “to flow, run”, Av. *tak-*.

(2) in the consonant clusters *st, št, *xt, *ft:

- Gil. *setarə* “star” < MIr. **stārag*, cf. MP *stārag*, cf. Ir. **stār-*, cf. Av. *stār-*;
- Gil. *gošt* “meat”, cf. MP *gōšt* < Ir. **gau-šti-* (Bailey 1967: 75);
- Gil. *kušt-* pst. stem “to kill”, cf. MP *kuš-* < Ir. **kušta-* pst. ptcp. from **kauš-*, cf. Av. *kaoš-*;
- Gil. *angušt* “finger”, cf. Parth. *angušt* < Ir. **angušta-*, cf. Av. *angušta-*;
- Gil. *səxt* “difficult”, cf. MP *saxt* < Ir. **θaxta-* pst. ptcp. from **θanj-* “to pull, draw”, NP *saxt* (cf. Ḥasandust 1393: vol. 3, 1701; Cheung 2007: 391-92; PKYa differs);
- Gil. *dərəxt* “tree”, cf. MP *draxt* < Ir. **draxta-* “firmly standing” pst. ptcp. from **dra(n)j-* “to fix, fasten, hold”, cf. Av. *drənj-*;
- Gil. *pəxt-* pst. stem “to cook”, cf. MP *pox-* < Ir. **paxta-* pst. ptcp. from **pač-*, cf. Av. *pac-* (Stilo 2001: 660);
- Gil. *(h)aft* “seven”, cf. MP *haft* < Ir. **hafta*, cf. Av. *hapta*;
- Gil. *gift-* pst. stem “to take”, cf. MP *gir-* < Ir. **grfta-* pst. ptcp. from **grabH-* “to grab, seize, take”, cf. Av. *grab-*.

§ 10 Gilaki /k/

[PKYa 483]

The phoneme /k/ goes back to Ir. **k* in the following phonetic positions:

a:

(1) at the beginning of a word before vowels:

- Gil. *kəm* “little”, cf. MP *kam* < Ir. **kamna-*, cf. Av. *kamna-*, OP *kamna-*;
- Gil. *kaftən* “to fall”, cf. MP *kaftan* < Ir. **kap-*;
- Gil. *ko* “mountain”, cf. MP *kōj* < Ir. **kaufa-*, cf. Av. *kaofa-*, OP *kaufa-*;
- Gil. *kašə* “hug, arms”, cf. MP *kaš* “armpit” < Ir. **kaša-*, Av. *kaša-*, OInd. *kakṣa-*;
- Gil. *ki* “who, who?”, cf. MP *kē* < Ir. **kahja* gen. sg. from *ka-* “who?”, cf. Av. *ka-*, OP *ka-*.

(2) in the consonant clusters **sk*, **šk*:

- Gil. *šikar* “hunt”, cf. ManMP, Parth *iškar-* <škr-, šqr-> < Ir. **skāra-* from **skar-* “to pursue, drive, look for (the cattle)”, cf. Av. *skāraiaṭ-raθa-* (?), NP *šekār* “hunt”;
- Gil. *iškən-* prs. stem “to break, cleave” < Ir. **skand-*, cf. Av. *skand-*;
- Gil. *xušk* “dry”, cf. MP *hušk* < Ir. **huška-*, cf. Av. *huška-*, OP *uška-*.

(3) in the suffix *-k* < Ir. **-ka-* (in this position, **k* is preserved in a series of cases, while usually **k* in inter- and post-vocalic position becomes /g/ and /v/, see below):

- Gil. *xuk* “pig” cf. MP *hūg* < Ir. **hū-ka-*, cf. Av. *hū-*;
- Gil. *nəzdik* “near”, cf. MP *nazdik* < Ir. **nazd-*, cf. Av. *nazdiiō* (< **nazdiiāh-*), OInd. *nedīyaḥ-*;
- Gil. *tarik* “dark”, cf. MP *tārīg*, *tārīk* < Ir. **tanθrja-ka-*, cf. Ir. **tanθra-* “darkness”, Av. *taθra-*, cf. *taθriia-* “dark”;
- Gil. *pak* “clean”, cf. MP *pāk* < Ir. **pāuaka-*, NP *pāk*, cf. OInd. *pāvaka-*.

§ 11 Gilaki /b/

[PKYa 483-84]

The phoneme /b/ goes back to Ir. **b*, **p*, **u* in the following phonetic positions:

(1) at the beginning of a word before vowels:

- Gil. *abrar/bərar* “brother”, cf. MP *brād* < Ir. **brātar-*, cf. Av. *brātar-*, OP *brātar-*, OInd. *bhrātar-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352);
- Gil. *bu* “smell”, cf. MP *bōy* < Ir. **bauda-*, cf. Av. *baoda-*;
- Gil. *bəxš-* prs. stem “to donate, to distribute”, cf. MP *baxš-* < Ir. **baxš-a-*, cf. Av. *baxš-a-*.

(2) in the consonant cluster *br*:

- Gil. *abru* “eyebrow”, cf. MP *brūg* < Ir. **brūka-*, cf. Av. *bruuat-*, OInd. *bhrū-*;
- Gil. *abr* “cloud”, cf. MP *abr* < Ir. **abra-*, cf. Av. *aβra-*, OInd. *abhra-*.

(3) in inter- and post-vocalic position:

- Gil. *ruba* “fox”, cf. MP *rōbāh* < Ir. **raupatśa-*, cf. OP **raupaθa-*, OInd. *lopāśa-*;
- Gil. *xob* “well”, cf. MP *xūb* < Ir. **h_u-apah-*, Av. *huu-apah-* “doing good work”, OInd. *sv-apas-*;
- Gil. *ba* “with”, cf. MP *abāg* < Ir. **apāk*;
- Gil. *tabəstan* “summer”, cf. ManMP, Parth *tābān* from Ir. **tap-* “to warm up, heat”, Av. *tap-* “to be(come) hot”.

(4) /b/ < Ir. **p* at word beginning before a vowel in the preposition Gil. *bə*, *bi* “in, on, to” < Ir. **pati*, cf. Av. *paiti*, OP *pati*.

(5) *sb/sp* < Ir. **sp*:

- Gil. *asb/asp* “horse”, cf. MP *asp* < Ir. **atśua-*, cf. Av. *aspa-*, Med. **aspa-*, OP *asa-*, OInd. *aśva-*.

(6) by influence of the Persian language /b/ < Ir. **u* at the beginning of a word before vowels:

a:

- Gil. *bəd* “bad”, cf. MP *wad* < Ir. **uata-*;
- Gil. *bihišt* “paradise”, cf. MP *wahišt* < Ir. **uahišta-*, cf. Av. *vahišta-*;
- Gil. *bid* “willow”, cf. MP *wēd* < Ir. **uaiti-*, cf. Av. *vaēti-*;
- Gil. *bərg/vərg* “leaf”, cf. MP *warg* < Ir. **uarka-*, cf. Av. *varəka-*;

- Gil. *bərʃ/vərʃ* “snow”, cf. MP *wafr* < Ir. **uafra*-, cf. Av. *vafra*- (cf. Geiger: 1898-1901: 351);
- Gil. *bad/vad* “wind”, cf. MP *wād* < Ir. **uāta*-, cf. Av. *vāta*-, OInd. *vāta*-;
- Gil. *bištar/vištar* “more”, cf. MP *wēš*.

It is often the case that in the same word /v/ is preserved beside /b/ (see below under /v/).

b:

Most consistently /b/ < Ir. *d̥u* (rare cases) at the beginning of a word in front of vowels is observed in Gilaki:

- Gil. *bər* “gate, door”, cf. MP *dar*, ManMP, Parth. *bar*
 < Ir. **d̥uar*-, cf. Av. *duuar*-, OP *duvara*-, OInd. *dvār*-.

§ 12 Gilaki /d/

[PKYa 485]

The phoneme /d/ goes back to Ir. **d*, **d̥z*, **t* in the following phonetic positions:

(1) /d/ < Ir. **d* at the beginning of a word before vowels and *r*:

- Gil. *dod*, Fum. *död* “smoke”, cf. MP *dūd* < Ir. **dūta*-, cf. OInd. *dhūma*-;
- Gil. *dim* “face”, cf. ManMP, Parth. *dēm* <dym> < Ir. **daiman*-, cf. Av. *daēman* “eye”;
- Gil. *dar* “tree” MP *dār* < Ir. **dāru*-, cf. Av. *dāru*-, OP *dāru*- “wood” (Geiger 1898-1901: 355);
- Gil. *dər* “gate, door”, cf. MP *dar*, ManMP, Parth. *bar*
 < Ir. **d̥uar*-, cf. Av. *duuar*-, OP *duvara*-, OInd. *dvār*-;
- Gil. *dad* “scream”, “justice”, cf. MP *dād* < Ir. **dāta*-, Av. *dāta*-, OP *dāta*-;
- Gil. *dif* “demon”, cf. MP *dēw* < Ir. **daiya*-, Av. *daēva*-, OP *daiva*-, OInd. *deva*-;
- Gil. *dəraz* “long”, cf. MP *drāz*, Av. *drājah*- “length”, *drājiio* “farther” < *drājiiah*-.

(2) Influenced by the Persian language /d/ < Ir. **d̥z* (Av., Med. *z*, OP *d*) at the beginning of a word before vowels:

- Gil. *dərya* “sea”, cf. MP *drayā(b)* < Ir. **d̥zrayah*-, cf. Av. *zrayah*-, OP *drayah*-, OInd. *jrayas*-;

- Gil. *dil* “heart”, cf. MP *dil* < Ir. **džrd-*, cf. Av. *zərəd-*, OInd. *hṛd-* (Stilo 2001: 660);
- Gil. *dan-* prs. stem “to know”, cf. MP *dān-* < Ir. **džā-nā-*, cf. Av. *zā-nā-*, OP *dā-nā-* (Stilo 2001: 660);
- Gil. *dəhan* “mouth”, cf. MP *dahān*, Av. *zafan-*, *zafar-*.

Conservation of properly NWIr. /z/ < Ir. **dž* in these languages is observed only in isolated cases (see below).

(3) /d/ < Ir. **t* in inter- and post-vocalic position, as well as after **r*, **n*:

- Gil. *sad* “hundred”, cf. MP *sad* < Ir. **tšata-*, cf. Av. *sata-*, OP **θata-*, OInd. *śata-*;
- Gil. *šad* “happy”, cf. MP *šād* < Ir. **čjāta-*, cf. OAv. *šiiāta-*, OP *šiyāta-*;
- Gil. *zərd* “yellow”, cf. MP *zard* < Ir. **džarita-*, cf. Av. *zairita-*, OInd. *harita-*;
- Gil. *mərd* “man, husband”, cf. MP *mard* < Ir. **martija-*, cf. Av. *mašīia-*, OP *mar-tiya-*, OInd. *mart(i)ya-*;
- Gil. *gəndum* “wheat”, cf. MP *gandum* < Ir. **gantuma-*, cf. Av. *gaṇtuma-*.

§ 13 Gilaki /g/

[PKYa 485- 486]

Phoneme /g/ goes back to Ir. **g*, **k*, **ɣ* in the following phonetic positions:

(1) /g/ < Ir. **g*:

(a) at the beginning of a word before a vowel:

- Gil. *goš* “ear”, cf. MP *gōš* < Ir. **gauša-*, cf. Av. *gaoša-*, OP *gaušā-*, OInd. *ghoṣa-* “sound”;
- Gil. *gərm* “warm”, cf. MP *garm* < Ir. **garma-*, cf. Av. *garəma-*, OP *garma*^o;
- Gil. *gav* “bovine”, cf. MP *gāw* < Ir. **gāu-*, cf. Av. *gāu-*.

(b) in the cluster *ng* < Ir. **ng*:

- Gil. *rəng* “color”, cf. MP *rang* < Ir. **ranga-*, cf. OInd. *raṅga-*;
- Gil. *səng* “rock”, cf. MP *sang* < Ir. **atšanga-*, cf. Av. *asəṅga-*, OP *aθanga-*.

(2) /g/ < Ir. *k in inter- and post-vocalic position, as well as after *r:

(a) in inter- and post-vocalic position:

- Gil. *agə* “if”, cf. MP *agar*, Av. *hakərəṭ* “once”, OP *hakaram*;
- Gil. *sag/sak* “dog” (with SWIr. *s* instead of NWIr. *sp*), cf. MP *sag* < Ir. **śyaka-* “doglike”, cf. Av. *spaka-* (Stilo 2001: 660);
- Gil. *ǰigər* “liver” < Ir. *(H)*ǰakar-*, cf. Av. *yǎkar-*, OInd. *yakṛt-*.

(b) after *r:

- Gil. *mərg* “death”, cf. MP *marg* < Ir. **marka-*, cf. Av. *mahrka-*.

(3) /g/ < Ir. **ḡ*

(a) probably on tabuistic grounds:

- Gil. *gozga* “frog”, cf. MP *wazay* < Ir. **ḡazaga-*, Av. *vazaya-* (frogs were regarded as symbols of evil in Zoroastrianism).¹⁰

(b) /g/ < Ir. **ḡ* at the beginning of a word before a vowel or before *r:

- Gil. *gurg* “wolf”, cf. MP *gurg* < Ir. **ḡrka-*, cf. Av. *vəhrka-*, OInd. *vṛka-* (Stilo 2001: 660);
- Gil. *gul* “flower”, cf. MP *gul* < Ir. **ḡrda-*, cf. Av. *varəḍa-* (Stilo 2001: 660).

2) *gu* < Ir. **ḡi*:

- Gil. *guna* “sin”, cf. MP *wināh* < Ir. **ḡi-nātśa-*, cf. Av. *nas-*, with preverb *vi-* “to be doomed to death”;
- Gil. *guzar* “to pass, cross over”, cf. MP *wider-* < Ir. **ḡi-tarH-*, cf. Av. *tar-*, OP *vi-tar-*.

§ 14 Gilaki /č/

[PKYa 486]

¹⁰ The replacement of **mar* “snake” by *lanti* (lit. “the cursed one” ← Ar. *la ‘nat* “curse”) is also due to tabuistic reasons. Possibly also *gurg* “wolf”, cf. Ossetic *bīræǵ* “wolf” with irregular *b-* as against regular **wærg*, only continued in proper names (Abaev 1958: 263-64).

(1) The phoneme /č/ goes back to Ir. *č mostly at the beginning of a word before a vowel:

- Gil. *čəl* “spinning wheel”, cf. MP *čaxrag* < Ir. *čaxra-, cf. Av. *čaxra-*, OInd. *cakra-*;
- Gil. *čum* “eye”, cf. MP *čašm* < Ir. *čaxšman-, cf. Av. *čašman-*, OP *čašman-*, OInd. *cakṣman-*;
- Gil. *čar* “four”, cf. MP *čahār* < Ir. *čaθuār-, cf. Av. *čaθβār-*, OInd. *catvār-*.

See also /č/ in the Gilaki suffix of diminution or pettiness -čə (from Persian -če, cf. MP -čag): Gil. *baγčə* “garden”.

§ 15 Gilaki /j/

[PKYa 486- 487]

The phoneme /j/ goes back to Ir. *j, *č, *i in the following cases:

(1) /j/ < Ir. *j (NWIr. outcome) in some words after and before vowels:

- Gil. *baĵ* “ransom, tribute”, cf. MP *bāĵ* < Ir. *bāĵi-, cf. OP *bāĵi-*, OInd. *bhāĵi-*;
- Gil. *biĵ-* prs. stem “to fry”, cf. ManMP *brēz-* <bryz-> < Ir. *braiĵ-;
- Gil. *ĵulf* “deep”, cf. Parth. *žafṛ*, NP *žarf* < Ir. *ĵafra-, Av. *ĵafra-*;
- Gil. *aĵik* “worm, tapeworm” < Ir. *aĵi-ka- (see next);
- Gil. *aĵdaxa* “dragon”, cf. MP *Azdahāg* < Ir. *aĵi- and *dahāka-* “name of dragon”, Av. *aĵi-* and *dahāka-*; *aĵdam* “salty food” < *aĵi-dama-, cf. NP *dam* “human and non-human mouth” from Ir. *damba- or Ir. *dam-* “to blow” (?).

(2) /j/ < Ir. *č in the position after a vowel (NWIr. outcome):

- Gil. *suĵ-* “to burn”, cf. Parth. *sōž-* <swc>, MP *sōz-* < *Ir. *sauč-*, Av. *saoc-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352; Stilo 2001: 660);
- Gil. *avaĵ* “response”, cf. MP *āwāz* “voice, sound” < Ir. *uac-, Av. *vac*, OInd. *vāc-*;
- Gil. *teĵ* “sharp, swift” MP *tēz* < Ir. *taiĵa-, cf. Av. *brōiθrō-taēža-* “with sharp edge”;
- Gil. *ĵə* “from, than”, cf. MP *az*, ClP. *ze* < *Ir. *hača*, cf. Av. *hacā*, OP *hacā* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352; Stilo 2001: 660);

- Gil. *ǰir* “down”, cf. MP *azēr* < Ir. **hača adarāt*, cf. Av. *haca* and *aḍara-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352).

More often in this position, under the influence of Persian, /z/ < Ir. *č.

(3) /ǰ/ < Ir. *č is also observed after *n:

- Gil. *pənj* “five”, cf. MP *panj* < Ir. **panča-*, cf. Av. *paṇca-*, OInd. *pañca-*;
- Gil. *pəñja* “fifty”, cf. MP *panjāh*, Av. *pančā-sat* (fem.).

(4) /ǰ/ < Ir. *y at the beginning of a word:

- Gil. *ǰo* “barely”, cf. MP *ǰaw* < Ir. **ǰaua-*, cf. Av. *yauua-* “grain”;
- Gil. *ǰəvan* “young”, cf. MP *ǰuwān* < Ir. **ǰuān-*, cf. Av. *yauuān-*, OInd. *yuvan-*.

(5) In two words /ǰ/ goes back to *gy < Ir. *ǰi:

- Gil. *ǰan* “body”, cf. MP *gyān* < Ir. **ǰiāna-*;
- Gil. *ǰa* “place”, cf. MP *gyāg* < Ir. **ǰiāka(h)-*, OInd. *vyacas-* “expanse, wide space” (rather than < Mlr. **wyāg-* < *Ir. *ǰi-ǰiāh-a-ka-*, OIr. **ǰi-ǰiāh-a-ka-*, cf. Hasandust 1393: vol. 2, 947).

§ 16 Gilaki /f/

[PKYa 487-88]

(1) The phoneme /f/ in most cases goes back to Ir. *f in different phonetic positions at the beginning of a word, in the middle of a word between vowels, in the clusters *fr, *ft:

- Gil. *fərma-* prs. stem “to order”, cf. MP *framūdan-*, *framāy-* < Ir. **framaH-*, cf. Av., OP *mā-* “to measure”, with the preverb *fra-* “normalize, organize, order”;
- Gil. *foru*, Fum. *firu* “down”, cf. MP *frōd* < Ir. **frauat-as*, OP *fravata*;
- Gil. *kəf* “foam”, cf. NP*kaf* < Ir. **kafa-*, cf. Av. *kafa-*, OInd. *kapha-*;
- Gil. *naʃ* “navel”, cf. MP *nāf* < Ir. **nāfa-*, cf. Av. *nāfa-*;
- Gil. *bərʃ/vərʃ* “snow”, cf. MP *waʃr* < Ir. **uafra-*, cf. Av. *vaʃra-* (cf. Geiger 1898-1901: 351);
- Gil. *haʃt* “seven”, cf. MP *haʃt* < Ir. **hafta*, cf. Av. *hapta*;
- Gil. *yaʃt-* “to find”, cf. MP *ayāʃt-*;

- Gil. *taft* “hot flash, heat reflection”, cf. ManMP, Parth. *tābān* “summer”, MP *taftan*, *tāftan* from Ir. **tap-* “to warm up, heat”, Av. *tap-* “to be(come) hot”;

In addition, in a number of words /f/ goes back:

(2) to **p* in the clusters **sp*, **ps*:

- Gil. *gosfānd* “sheep”, cf. MP *gōspand* < Ir. **gau-tšyanta-*, cf. Av. *gaospənta-*;
- Gil. *afsos* “alas”, cf. MP *afsōs* “scorn, mockery” < Ir. **apa-tšrauθra-*, cf. OP **apa-čauça-*.

2) sometimes to Ir. **x* in the cluster **xt*:

- Gil. *juft* “pair”, cf. MP *juxt* < Ir. **juxta-*, cf. Av. *yūxta-*, OInd. *yukta-*;
- Gil. *muft* “gratis, free”, cf. NP *moft* < Ir. **muxta-*, cf. OInd. *mukta-* “loosened, set free”.

§ 17 Gilaki /s/

[PKYa 488]

The phoneme /s/ goes back to Ir. **tš*, **θr*, rarely **š*:

(1) /s/ < Ir. **tš* in different phonetic positions:

(a) at the beginning of a word before vowels or in the Ir. consonant cluster **tšr*:

- Gil. *sər* “head”, cf. MP *sar* < Ir. **tšarah-*, cf. Av. *sarah-*, OInd. *śiras-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 355);
- Gil. *surx* “red”, cf. MP *suxr* < Ir. **tšuxra-*, cf. Av. *suxra-*, OP *θuxra-* pr. n.;
- Gil. *sal* “year”, cf. MP *sāl* < Ir. **tšard-*, cf. Av. *sarəd-*, OP *θard-*;
- Gil. *arsu* (*arusu*) “tear” < Ir. **atšru-ka-* by metathesis, cf. ManMP *asr*, Av. *asru-*, OInd. *aśru-*.

(b) Between vowels and after a vowel:

- Gil. *asudə* “calm”, cf. NP *āsudeh* < Ir. **ā-sāi-*, cf. Av. *ā-sāii-*;
- Gil. *pəs/z* “then, later”, cf. MP *pas* < Ir. **pasčā*, cf. Av. *pasca*, OP *pasā*, OInd. *paścā*.

(c) in the clusters **tšj* (at word beginning), **tš*, **tšu* (in the middle and at the beginning of a word), **tšm*:

- Gil. *siya* “black”, cf. MP *syā* < Ir. **tšjāya-*, cf. Av. *siiāva-*, OInd. *śyāva*;
- Gil. *rast* “true, right, straight”, cf. MP *rāst* < Ir. **rātšta-*, cf. Av. *rāšta-*, OP *rāsta-*;
- Gil. *sifid* “white”, cf. MP *spēd* < Ir. **tšūaita-*, cf. Av. *spaēta-*, OInd. *śveta-*;
- Gil. *asb/asp* “horse”, cf. MP *asp* < Ir. **atšua-*, cf. Av. *aspa-*, Med. **aspa-*, OP *asa-*, OInd. *aśva-*;
- Gil. *asəman* “sky”, cf. MP *asmān* < Ir. **atšmān-*, cf. Av. *asman-*, OP *asman-*, OInd. *áśman-*.

(2) /s/ < Ir. **θr* at the beginning and in the middle of a word:

- Gil. *se* “three”, cf. MP *sē* < Ir. **θraia-*, cf. Av. *θraiiō* (Stilo 2001: 660);
- Gil. *pəsər* “son, boy”, cf. MP *pus* < Ir. **puθra-*, cf. Av. *puθra-*, OP *puça-*, OInd. *putra-* (Stilo 2001: 660);
- Gil. *tasyan* “sadness, depressed situation”, cf. MP *tārīg*, *tārīk* < Ir. **tanθria-ka-*, cf. Ir. **tanθra-* “darkness”, Av. *təθra-*, cf. *təθriia-* “dark”;
- Gil. *das* “sickle”, cf. MP *dās* < Ir. **dāθra-*, cf. OInd. *dātra-*.

(3) /s/ < Ir. **š* (rarely) in Persian loanwords:

- Gil. *xərs* ← NP *xers* < MP *xirs*, cf. Ir. *ṣša-*, Av. *arša-*;
- Gil. *dost* “friend” ← NP *dust* < MP *dōst*, cf. OP *dayštar-*, cf. Ir. **džauš-* “to take pleasure in, rejoice in”, Av. *zaoš-*.

(4) /s/ < Ir. **tš*

- Gil. *savestən*, *sav-* “to rub”, cf. MP *sūdan*, NP *sudan* < Ir. **tšau-*, prs. stem *sāu-aia-*.

§ 18 Gilaki /š/

[PKYa 488- 489]

The phoneme /š/ in most cases goes back to Ir. **š*, **xš*, rarely to Ir. **fš*:

(1) /š/ < Ir. *š between vowels, after vowels, and also in the clusters *št, *fš, *šm, *šk:

- Gil. *šandən* “to spread, to scatter sow”, cf. MP *af-šāndan* < Ir. *šan- “to shake (down?)”;
- Gil. *goš* “ear”, cf. MP *gōš* < Ir. *gauša-, cf. Av. *gaoša-*, OP *gauša-*, OInd. *ghoṣa-* “sound”;
- Gil. *doš* “shoulder”, cf. *dōš* < Ir. *dauš-, cf. Av. *daoš-*;
- Gil. *šutur* “camel”, cf. MP *uštar*, Av. *uštra-*;
- Gil. *pušt* “back”, cf. MP *pušt* < Ir. *pṛšti-, cf. Av. *paršti-*, *paršta-*, OInd. *pṛṣṭi-* “rib”;
- Gil. *dərəfš* “banner”, cf. MP *drafš*, Av. *drafša-*;
- Gil. *xušḱ* “dry”, cf. MP *hušk* < Ir. *huška-, cf. Av. *huška-*, OP *uška-*.

(2) /š/ < Ir. *čī at the beginning of a word before vowels in the words:

- Gil. *šad* “happy”, cf. MP *šād* < Ir. *čīāta-, cf. OAv. *šiiāta-*, OP *šiyāta-*;
- Gil. *šun* “to go”, cf. MP *šudan*, *šaw-* < Ir. *čīav-, cf. Av. *šiiav-*, OP *šiyav-*, OInd. *cyav-*.

(3) /š/ < Ir. *xš and *xšy:

(a) /š/ < Ir. *xš at the beginning and in the middle of a word:

- Gil. *šir* “milk”, cf. MP *šīr* < Ir. *xšīra-, cf. OInd. *kṣīra-*;
- Gil. *šəb* “night”, cf. MP *šab* < Ir. *xšap-, cf. OP *xšap-*, OInd. *kṣap-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 353);
- Gil. *ištav-* prs.stem “to hear”, cf. MP *ā-šnaw-* < Ir. *xšnau-, OP *ā-xšnav-*;
- Gil. *bəxš-* prs. stem “to forgive”, cf. MP *abaxšāy-*, Av. *baxš-*;
- Gil. *ašti* “reconciliation”, cf. MP *āštīh* < Ir. *axš-, cf. Av. *axš-*, cf. Av. *āxšti-*.

(b) /š/ < Ir. *xšy:

- Gil. *šiš* “six”, cf. MP *šāš*, Av. *xšuuāš*.

(4) /š/ < Ir. *fš at the beginning of a word before a vowel in the word:

- Gil. *šərm* “shame”, cf. MP *šarm* < Ir. *fšarma-, cf. Av. *fšarəma-*.

(5) /š/ < Ir. *s in the word:

- Gil. *šikar* “hunt”, cf. ManMP, Parth. *iškar-* <škr-> < Ir. *skar-, cf. Av. *skar-, *skāraiiat-raθa-* “chasing the chariot”.

(6) /š/ < Ir. *str

- Gil. *vaš* “grass, herb, weed”, cf. MP *wāš* < Ir. **uāstra-*, Av. *vāstra-* “pasture”.

§ 19 Gilaki /x/

[PKYa 489]

The phoneme /x/ goes back to Ir. *x, *h_y. Examples:

(1) /x/ < Ir. *x:

(a) at the beginning of a word before a vowel and before *r:

- Gil. *xər* “donkey”, cf. MP *xar* < Ir. *xara-, cf. Av. *xara-*, OInd. *khara-*;
- Gil. *xum* “pot”, cf. MP *xumb* < Ir. *xumba-, cf. Av. *xumba-*, OInd. *kumbha-*;
- Gil. *xuros* “rooster” (Fum. *sugolə*), cf. MP *xrōs* < Ir. *xrautś-, cf. Av. *xraos-* “cry out”.

(b) after vowels:

- Gil. *yəx* “ice”, cf. NP *yax* < Ir. *aixa-, cf. Av. *aēxa-*.

(c) in the consonant clusters *xt, *xr, *xm:

- Gil. *səxt* “difficult”, cf. MP *saxt* < Ir. *θaxta- pst. ptcp. from *θanj- “to pull, draw”, NP *saxt* (cf. Ḥasandust 1393: vol. 3, 1701; Cheung 2007: 391-92; PKYa differs);
- Gil. *čərx* “wheel”, cf. MP *čaxrag* < Ir. *čaxra-;
- Gil. *tuxm* “seed”, cf. MP *tuhm* < Ir. *tauxman-, cf. Av. *taoxman-*, OInd. *tokman-* “young blade of corn”.

(2) /x/ < Mlr. *xw < Ir. *h_y:

- Gil. *xab* “sleep”, cf. MP *xwāb* < Ir. *h_yap-, cf. Av. *x^vap-* “to sleep”;
- Gil. *xaxur* “sister”, cf. MP *xwah* < Ir. *h_yahar-, cf. Av. *x^vaṇhar-*, OInd. *svasar-*;
- Gil. *xu/xo* “oneself, own”, MP *xwad* < Ir. *h_yatah, cf. Av. *x^vatō*, OInd. *svatas*;
- Gil. *xur-/xor-* prs. stem “to eat”, cf. MP *xwar-* < Ir. *h_yar-, cf. Av. *x^var-*;

- Gil. *xuš* “good”, cf. MP *xwaš*.

(3) In isolated cases /x/ < Ir. *h:

- Gil. *xuk* “pig”, cf. MP *xūg* < Ir. *hū-ka-, cf. Av. *hū-*;
- Gil. *xušk* “dry”, cf. MP *hušk* < Ir. *huška-, cf. Av. *huška-*, OInd. *suška-*;
- Gil. *xon*, Fum. *xin* “blood”, cf. MP *xōn*, Av. *vohuna/ī-* (?).

(4) prosthetic /x/ is observed in:

- Gil. *xayə* “testicle” < *ājaka- < Ir. *ājja-ka-, Av. *āiiam* > *aēm*;
- Gil. *xərs* “bear” ← NP *xers* < MP *xirs*, cf. Ir. *rša-*, Av. *arša-*.

§ 20 Gilaki /h/

[PKYa 489-90]

The phoneme /h/ goes back to Ir. *h, *tś, *θ in the following cases:

(1) /h/ < Ir. *h regardless of position:

- Gil. *har* “each”, cf. MP *har(w)* < Ir. *haruā-, cf. Av. *hauruua-* “all, completely”, OP *haruva-*, OInd. *sarva-*;
- Gil. *hamə* “all”, cf. MP *hamāg* < Ir. *hama-ka-, cf. Av. *hama-* “each”, OInd. *sama-*;
- Gil. *bəhar/vəhar* “spring”, cf. MP *wahār* < Ir. *uāhāra-, cf. Av. *vanhar-*, OP *°vāhara-*;
- Gil. *vahəštən* “to permit, leave, abandon”, cf. MP *hištan* < Ir. *hardž-, Av. *harəz-*, OP *hard-*.

(2) /h/ < Ir. *tś, *ts (Av. *s*, OP *θ*) between vowels:

(a) /h/ < Ir. *tś:

- Gil. *da(h)* “ten”, cf. MP *dah* < Ir. *datśa-, cf. Av. *dasā*, OP **daθa*°, OInd. *daśa*;
- Gil. *a(h)u* “gazelle”, cf. MP *āhūg* < Ir. *ātśu-ka-, cf. Av. *āsu-* “swift”, OInd. *āśu-*.

(b) /h/ < Ir. *ts:

- Gil. *ma(h)i* “fish”, cf. MP *māhīg* < Ir. *mātsja-ka-, cf. Av. *masiia-*, OInd. *matsya-*.

(3) /h/ < Ir. *θ

- Gil. *ra(h)* “way, road”, cf. MP *rāh* < Ir. **rāθa-*, cf. Av. *raθa-* “carriage”, OInd. *ratha-*;
- Gil. *me(h)man* “guest”, cf. MP *mehmān* < Ir. **maiθman-*, cf. Av. *miθ-* “to rest, dwell”, *maēθana-* “dwelling”.

(4) One should also note *hr* < Ir. **θr* (NWIr. outcome, cf. above *s* < Ir. **θr* under the influence of the Persian language):

- Gil. *ša(h)r* “city”, cf. MP *šahr* “land, country” < Ir. **xšaθra-*, cf. Av. *xšaθra-*, OP *xšaça-*, OInd. *kṣatra-*;
- Gil. *me(h)r* “love, affection”, cf. MP *mihr* < Ir. **miθra-*, cf. Av. *miθra-* (1) “contract, agreement” (2) “Mithra (the sun god)”, OInd. *mitra-* “friend”;
- Gil. *da(h)rə* “sickle”, cf. MP *dās* < Ir. **dāθra-*, cf. OInd. *dātra-* (Stilo 2001: 660).

(5) /h/ < Ir. **f* between vowels is seen in the words:

- Gil. *də(h)an* “mouth”, cf. MP *dahān* < Ir. **zafān-*, cf. Av. *zafan-*, *zafar-*;
- Gil. *ko(h)* “mountain”, cf. MP *kōf* < Ir. **kaufa-*, cf. Av. *kaofa-*, OP *kaufa-*.

(6) In some cases /h/ goes back to Ir. **xr*:

- Gil. *hən* “to buy”, cf. MP *xrīdan* < Ir. **xraiH-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 355; Stilo 2001: 660).

(7) Prosthetic /h/ is observed:

(a) at the beginning of a word before a vowel in the words:

- Gil. *(h)ašt* “eight”, cf. MP *hašt* < Ir. **aštā*, cf. Av. *ašta*, OInd. *aṣṭā*;
- Gil. *(h)aštad* “eighty”, cf. MP *haštād* < Ir. **aštāti-*, cf. Av. *aštāti-*;
- Gil. *(h)oš* “intelligence”, cf. NP *huš* < Ir. **uši-/auši-*, cf. Av. *uši-* (1) “ear”, (2) “ability to hear and understand correctly”, OP *uši-* “ear”;
- Gil. *(h)ič* “nothing”, cf. MP *ēč* < Ir. **aiya-čid*.

(b) at the end of the word after a vowel:

- Gil. *no(h)* “nine”, cf. MP *nō* < Ir. **naua-*, cf. Av. *nauua-*, OInd. *nava-*.

§ 21 Gilaki /v/

[PKYa 490-91]

The phoneme /v/ goes back to Ir. **u*, **b*, **p* (through the intermediate stage **b*, i.e. *v* < **b* < Ir. **p*) in the following phonetic positions:

(1) /v/ < Ir. **u*:

(a) at the beginning of a word before vowels (cf. /b/ < Ir. **u* under the influence of the Persian language):

- Gil. *bəs/vəs* “enough”, cf. Parth. *was*, Ir. **uatśa-* “wish, desire”, cf. Av. *vasō* “at will”, OP *vasaj* “much”;
- Gil. *vastən* “to desire”, cf. Parth. *was* < Ir. **uatś-*, Av. *vas-*;
- Gil. *vang* “cry”, cf. MP. *wāng*, P.Cl. *bāng* < Ir. **uac-* “to say, speak”;
- Gil. *bəhar/vəhar* “spring”, cf. MP *wahār* < Ir. **uahāra-*, cf. Av. *vanhar-*, OP *°vāhara-*;
- Gil. *bazi/vazi* “play”, cf. MP *wāzīg*;
- Gil. *v/bareš* “rain”, cf. MP *wārān* < Ir. **uar-*, cf. Av. *vār-*;
- Gil. *v/bərg* “leaf”, cf. MP *warg* < Ir. **uarka-*, cf. Av. *varəka-*;
- Gil. *bad/vad* “wind”, cf. MP *wād* < Ir. **uāta-*, cf. Av. *vāta-*, OInd. *vāta-*;
- Gil. *vašadən* “to open, loosen, free”, cf. MP *wišātan-* < Ir. **ui-šāta-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 349);
- Gil. *vər* in *vər zadən* “to cross a shallow river” < MIr. **wiḍār*, cf. Parth. *widar-* [wiḍar-], MP *widār* [wiḍār] < *Ir. *ui-* + *tar-*, Av. *tar-*, OP *tar-* “to go over, cross” (Geiger 1898-1901: 351);

(b) before *r*:

- Gil. *višta* “hungry”, cf. NP *gorosne*, *gošne* < Ir. **ursna-ka-*. (Stilo 2001: 660).

(c) /v/ < Ir. **u* between vowels:

- Gil. *ǰəvan* “young”, cf. MP *ǰuwān* < Ir. **ǰauuān-*, cf. Av. *yauuān-*, OInd. *yuvan-*;
- Gil. *bivə* “widow”, cf. MP *wēwag* < Ir. **uidauiā-*, cf. Av. *viḍauuā-*, OInd. *vidhavā-*;
- Gil. *avir* “lost”, cf. MP *wīr* “memory, mind” < Ir. **uira-*, Av. *°vira-* “perception, intelligence”.

(2) /v/ < Ir. *b between and after vowels:

(a) early change (up to the Middle Iranian period):

- Gil. *səvar* “rider” (SWIr. probably from Persian), cf. MP *aswār* cf. OP *asabāra*.

§ 22 Gilaki /z/

[PKYa 491-92]

The phoneme /z/ goes back to Ir. *dž, *j, *č, *ž in the following phonetic positions:

(1) /z/ < Ir. *dž (SWIr. development: cf. *d* < *dž* under the influence of Persian.):

(a) at the beginning of a word before a vowel:

- Gil. *zəmin* “earth”, cf. MP *zamīg* < Ir. *džam-, cf. Av. *zam*-, OInd. *kṣam*-;
- Gil. *zəməstan* “winter”, cf. MP *zam*, *zamestān* < Ir. *džjam-, *džim*-, cf. Av. *ziim*-, *zim*-, OInd. *him-a*- “cold, frost”;
- Gil. *zərd* “yellow”, cf. MP *zard* < Ir. *džarita-, cf. Av. *zairita*-, OInd. *harita*-;
- Gil. *zama* “son-in-law”, cf. MP *dāmād* “bridegroom” < Ir. *džāmātar-, cf. Av. *zāmātar*-, OInd. *jāmātar*- (Geiger 1898-1901: 352; Stilo 2001: 660);
- Gil. *zən* “to give birth, bear”, *zay*, *zə* “child”, *zak* “baby, small child” (< Ir. *džāta-*ka*-) < Ir. *džan-, cf. Av. *zan*-, OInd. *jan*-.

(b) between vowels:

- Gil. *buz* “goat”, cf. MP *buz*, Av. *būza*-;
- Gil. *hizār* “thousand”, cf. MP *hazār* < Ir. *hazahra-, cf. Av. *hazaŋra*-, OInd. *sa-hasra*-.

(2) in *zəv*- < NWIr. *zb- < Ir. *džu-:

- Gil. *zəvan* “tongue”, cf. MP *uzwān* < Ir. *hidžūā-, cf. Av. *hizvā*-, OInd. *jihvā*-.

(3) /z/ < Ir. *z in the cluster *zd:

- Gil. *nəzdik* “near”, cf. MP *nazdīk* < Ir. *nazd-, cf. Av. *nazdiiō* “nearer” (< *nazdi-*iah*-), OInd. *nedīya*-.

(4) /z/ < Ir. *ǰ (SWIr. outcome under the influence of Persian):

(a) at the beginning of a word before a vowel:

- Gil. *zən* “women, wife”, cf. MP *zan* < Ir. *ǰanī-, cf. Av. *janī-*, OInd. *janī-*;
- Gil. *zəndə* “alive”, cf. MP *zīndag* < Ir. *ǰūant- + *-a-ka-, cf. Av. *juuaṇt-*, OInd. *jīvant-*;
- Gil. *zə(h)r* “poison”, cf. MP *zahr* < Ir. *ǰaθra- (mix of features: SWIr. *z* < *ǰ, but NWIr. *hr* < *θr) from Ir. *ǰan- “to strike, to kill”, cf. Av. *jan-*, OInd. *han-*.

(b) between vowels:

- Gil. *dəraz* “long”, cf. MP *drāz* < Ir. *drāǰjah-, cf. Av. *drājah-* “length”, *drājiio* (*drājiiah-*) “farther”.

(5) /z/ < Ir. *č between vowels (SWIr. outcome; cf. *ǰ* < Ir. *č, NWIr. outcome):

- Gil. *roz* “day” (SWIr. outcome), cf. MP *rōz* < Ir. *raučah-, cf. Av. *raočah-* “light”, OP *raucah-*.

(6) /z/ < Ir. *ž (SWIr. outcome; cf. *ǰ*, *ž* < Ir. *ž):

- Gil. *duzd/duz* “thief”, cf. MP *duz(d)*, Av. *duž-dā(ii)* “with a bad opinion, with a malicious intent”;
- Gil. *muzd* “fee”, cf. MP *mizd* < Ir. *mižda-, cf. Av. *mīžda-* “wage, fee, reward, military reward”, OInd. *mīḍha-*.

§ 23 Gilaki /ž/

[PKYa 492]

(1) The phoneme /ž/, found in a very small number of words, goes back to Ir. *ž (NWIr. outcome):

- Gil. *muždə* “good news” cf. NP *moždeh* < Ir. *mižda-ka-, cf. Av. *mīžda-* “wage, fee, reward, military reward”.

§ 24 Gilaki /y/

[PKYa 492-93]

The phoneme /y/ goes back to Ir. *ǰ, *d in the following phonetic positions:

(1) /y/ < Ir. *j:

(a) between and after vowels:

- Gil. *dərya* “sea”, cf. MP *drayā(b)* < Ir. **dźrajah-*, cf. Av. *zraiah-*, OP *drayah-*;
- Gil. *dayə* “nurse”, cf. MP *dāyag*, cf. Ir. **dāj-*, Av. *dā(ii)* “to care for”;
- Gil. *sayə* “shadow”, cf. MP *sāyag* < Ir. **sāja-ka-*, cf. Av. *a-saiia-* “without shadow”, OInd. *chāyā-* “shadow”.

(b) in the Ir. cluster *sġ:

- Gil. *siya* “black”, cf. MP *syā* < Ir. **tsiāua-*, cf. Av. *siiāva-*, OInd. *śyāva*.

(c) in isolated cases at the beginning of a word before a vowel:

- Gil. *yoẓpələng* (*yoẓ* + *pələng*) “leopard”, cf. MP *yōz* “hunting leopard”, cf. Ir. **iaudž-* “to appear in restless movement”, cf. Av. *yaoz-*, OP *yaod-*.

(2) /y/ < Ir. *d between or after vowels:

- Gil. *ayinə* “mirror” presumably from *Ir. *ā-dġana-*, cf. *Ir. *dī-*, *daj-* “to look, see”;
- Gil. *mo*, *moy* “hair”, cf. MP *mōy*, Parth. *mōd*, which makes it possible presumably to reconstruct *Ir. *mauda-*;
- Gil. *miyan* “middle”, cf. MP *mayān* < **mayyāna-* < *Ir. *madġāna-*, cf. Av. *maiḍi- iāna-*, *maiḍiiāna-*.

(3) In some cases, there is a late transition /y/ < *d < Ir. *t between vowels:

- Gil. *pəyyām* “message” cf. MP *paygām* < Ir. **pati-gāma-*, Av. **paiti-γama-* (Nygberg 1964-1974: vol. 2, 149-50).

(4) In rare cases /y/ < Ir. *ui:

- Gil. (*a*)*yə* “here”, (*u*)*yə* “there”, cf. OGil. **yā*, Parth. *wyāg*, MP *gyāg* < Mlr. **wyāg* (see § 15.5).

§ 25 Gilaki /γ/

[PKYa 493]

(1) The phoneme /γ/ goes back to Ir. *g between and after vowels:

- Gil. *doroy* “lie”, cf. MP *drō* < Ir. **drauga-*, cf. Av. *draoga-*, *draoγa-*, OP *drauga-*;
- Gil. *rowγən* “oil”, cf. MP *rōyn* < Ir. **raugna-*, cf. Av. *raoγna-* “butter”;

- Gil. *day* “hot”, cf. Ir. **dāg-*, Av. *dag-*;
- Gil. *murγ* “chicken”, cf. Parth. *murγ* “bird, cock” < Ir. **mṛga-*, cf. Av. *mərəṣa-*;
- Gil. *ayuz* “walnut” < Ir. **ā-gauzā-*, cf. MP *gōz*.

(2) In addition, /γ/ in Arabic words from Ar. /γ/ or /q/:

- Gil. *γulam* “slave”, cf. Ar. *ḡulām*;
- Gil. *sunduy* “coffer”, cf. Ar. *ṣandūq*;

§ 26 Gilaki /m/

[PKYa 493]

(1) The phoneme /m/ goes back to Ir. **m* (and **Hm*) regardless of phonetic position:

(a) /m/ < Ir. **m*:

- Gil. *mar* “mother”, cf. MP *mādar* < Ir. **mātar-*, cf. Av. *mātar-*, OP *mātar-*, OInd. *mātar-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352);
- Gil. *mən* “I”, cf. MP *man* < Ir. **mana* (gen. sg.) “of me”, cf. Av. *mana*, OP *manā* “of me, to me” (gen.-dat. sg.);
- Gil. *hamə* “all”, cf. MP *hamāg* < Ir. **hama-ka-*, cf. Av. *hama-* “each”, OInd. *sama-*;
- Gil. *dumb* “tail”, cf. MP *dum(b)* < Ir. **duma-*, cf. Av. *duma-* “tail”;
- Gil. *gərm* “warm”, cf. MP *garm* < Ir. **garma-*, cf. Av. *garəma-*, OP *garma*^o;
- Gil. *asəman* “sky”, cf. MP *asmān* < Ir. **asmān-*, cf. Av. *asman-*, OP *asman-*, OInd. *ásman-*.

(b) /m/ < Ir. **Hm*:

- Gil. *vamištən* “to urinate”, cf. MP *mistan* < Ir. **Hmaidž-*, Av. *maēz-*.

§ 27 Gilaki /n/

[PKYa 493-94]

(1) The phoneme /n/ goes back to Ir. **n* regardless of phonetic position:

- Gil. *nam* “name”, cf. MP *nām* < Ir. **nāman-*, cf. Av. *nāman-*, OP *nāman-*, OInd. *nāman-*;

- Gil. *tən* “body”, cf. MP *tan* < Ir. **tanū-*, cf. Av. *tanū-* “people, human-like”, OP *tanū-*;
- Gil. *pənǰ* “five”, cf. MP *pañ* < Ir. **panča*, cf. Av. *paṇca*;
- Gil. *angušt* “finger”, cf. Parth. *angušt* < Ir. **angušta-*, cf. Av. *angušta-*;
- Gil. *rowyən* “oil”, cf. MP *rōyn* < Ir. **raugna-*, cf. Av. *raoyna-*.

§ 28 Gilaki /r/

[PKYa 494]

(1) The phoneme /r/ goes back to Ir. **r* (regardless of phonetic position):

- Gil. *rast* “true, right, straight, upright”, cf. MP *rāst* < Ir. **rātšta-*, cf. Av. *rāšta-*, OP *rāsta-*;
- Gil. *roz* “day” (SWIr. outcome), cf. MP *rōz* < Ir. **raučah-*, cf. Av. *raočah-*, “light”, OP *raucah-*;
- Gil. *abrar/bərar* “brother”, cf. MP *brādar* < Ir. **brātar-*, cf. Av. *brātar-*, OP *brātar-*, OInd. *bhrātar-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352);
- Gil. *dor* “far, away”, cf. MP *dūr* < Ir. **dūra-*, cf. Av. *dūra-*, OInd. *dūra-*;
- Gil. *bərflvərf* “snow”, cf. MP *wafr* < Ir. **uafra-*, cf. Av. *vafra-* (Giger 351).

One also observes:

2) /r/ < Ir. **rn*:

- Gil. *pər* “feather”, cf. MP *parr* < Ir. **parna-*, cf. Av. *parəna-*;
- Gil. *tər* “wet”, cf. NP *tar* < Ir. **tarna-*, cf. Av. *tauruna-*, OInd. *tāruṇa-* (Horn 1893: 85; Bartholomae 1904: 643).

(3) /r/ in (h)r < Ir. **θr* (NWIr. outcome):

- Gil. *ša(h)r* “city”, cf. MP *šahr* < Ir. **xšaθra-*, cf. Av. *xšaθra-*, OP *xšaça-*;
- Gil. *zə(h)r* “poison”, cf. MP *zahr* < Ir. **jaθra-* (mix of features: SWIr. *z* < **ǰ*, but NWIr. *hr* < **θr*) from Ir. **jan-* “to strike, to kill”, cf. Av. *jan-*, OInd. *han-*.

§ 29 Gilaki /l/

[PKYa 494]

The phoneme /l/ goes back to Ir. *rd, *rdž, *rtš;

(1) /l/ < Ir. *rd, *rdž, rtš, rž, rz:

- Gil. *sal* “year”, cf. MP *sāl* < Ir. *tšard-, cf. Av. *sarəd-*, OP *θard-*;
- Gil. *bulənd* “high”, cf. MP *buland* < Ir. *brdž-ant-, cf. Av. *bərəzant-*;
- Gil. *maləstən*, *mal-* “to rub”, cf. MP *muštan*, *māl-* < Ir. *mardž-, Av. *marəz-*;
- Gil. *palu*, *pali* “side, flank”, cf. Ir. *partšu-, cf. Av. *parəsu-*, *pərəsu-* “rib, side”;
- Gil. *aluy* “eagle”, cf. MP *āluh* < Ir. *ržifā-, cf. Av. *ərəzfīya-*, OP *rdufya-*.

(2) /l/ < Ir. *r:

- Gil. *guli*, *gulə* “throat” cf. Ir. *gar-, Av. *gar-* “to swallow”, *gar-* “throat”;
- Gil. *kəl* “bald” < Ir. *karuā-, cf. Av. *kauruua-*.

(3) /l/ < Ir. *xr:

- Gil. *səl* “wetlands, fishpond” (< *issal* < *stal), cf. NP *estal* beside usual *estaxr* < Ir. *staxra-, Av. *staxra-*;
- Gil. *čəl* “spinning wheel”, cf. MP *čaxrag* < Ir. *čaxra-, cf. Av. *čaxra-*, OInd. *cakra-*.

(4) /l/ < Ir. *r at the beginning of a word:

- Gil. *lojan*, *lojanak* “small window”, cf. NP *ruzan*, MP *rōzan* “window” < Ir. *raučana-, cf. Av. *raočana*, *raočina-* (Bartholomae 1904: 1489).

Mayrhofer (1989: 10) believes that both Indo-European */l/ and */r/ are continued in Proto-Iranian. Avestan lacked /l/ and Old Persian had /l/ as a marginal phoneme in foreign words (e.g. *Labnāna-* “Lebanon”). One may wonder whether words like *kəl* “bald” (cf. Latin *calvus*) and *lojan(ak)* “small window” (cf. Latin *lux* “light”) have Gil. *l* < Ir. *l (rather than *r) < Indo-European *l.

From Proto-Iranian to Gilaki

§ 30 Summary of phonological changes

[PKYa 495]

Proto-Iranian consonants	At word beginning	In the middle of a word		Notes
		after vowels (and r)	after consonants	
* <i>t</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>d</i> (after * <i>r</i> , * <i>n</i>)	
* <i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i> (inter- or post-vocalic position)	
* <i>č</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>z</i> <i>ǰ</i> (rarely)	<i>ǰ</i> (after * <i>n</i>)	
* <i>ǰ</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>z</i> <i>ǰ</i> (rarely)		
* <i>ṽ</i>	<i>v</i> <i>b</i> (by influence of Persian) <i>g</i> (before * <i>ṛ</i>)			
* <i>s</i>	<i>s</i>			<i>iš</i> , <i>ši</i> (in the cluster * <i>sk</i>), <i>s</i> (in the clusters * <i>sp</i> , * <i>st</i>)
* <i>tś</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i> , <i>h</i>		
* <i>z</i>	<i>z</i> , <i>d</i> (by influence of Persian)			
* <i>dž</i>	<i>z</i> , <i>d</i>	<i>z</i>		<i>l</i> (in the cluster * <i>rdž</i>)
* <i>ž</i>		<i>z</i> <i>ž</i> (rarely)		
* <i>hṽ</i>	<i>x</i>			
* <i>r</i>	<i>l</i> (in some cases), <i>r</i>			<i>r</i> (in the cluster * <i>rn</i>), (<i>h</i>) <i>r</i> (< * <i>θr</i>), <i>l</i> (in the cluster * <i>rd</i>)

§ 31 Consonant clusters

[PKYa 495-96]

Changes in consonant clusters (compared to the Iranian stage):

- (1) **ui* > **gy* > *j* at word beginning before vowels (cf. § 15.5);
- (2) **θr* > *hr* (NW) or *s* (under the influence of Persian) (cf. §§ 17.2, 20.4);
- (3) **fš* > *š* at the beginning of a word (cf. § 18.4);
- (4) **fš* > *fš* in individual words (cf. § 18.1);
- (5) **rz* (Av. *rz*, OP *rd*) > *l* (cf. § 29.1);
- (6) **xš* > *š* (cf. § 18.3a);
- (7) **du* > *d* (Gil., Maz.) at the beginning of a word (cf. § 12.1);
- (8) **du* > *b* (Fum.) at the beginning of a word (cf. § 11.6b);
- (9) **rn* > *r* (cf. § 28.1).

Other phonological changes

§ 32 Metathesis

[PKYa 496]

- (1) **fr* > *rf*:
 - Gil. *bərf/vərf* “snow” < Ir. **uafra-*, cf. Av. *vafra-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 351);
 - Gil. *juľf* “deep”, cf. Parth. *žəfr*, NP *žarf* < Ir. **jafra-*, Av. *jafra*.
- (2) **rx* > *xr*:
 - Gil. *čərx* “wheel”, *cəl* “spinning wheel” < Ir. **čaxra-*;
 - Gil. *surx* “red” < Ir. **tšuxra-*, cf. Av. *suxra-*.
- (3) **hr* > **xr* > **xl* > *rx*:
 - Gil. *zərx* “bitter”, *təlx* “bitter”.

§ 33 Loss of initial *a

[PKYa 496]

- (1) In the Middle or the early New Iranian period, as in Persian, initial **a* disappeared in Gilaki if one consonant followed it:

- Gil. *səng* “rock”, cf. MP *sang* < Ir. **atśanga-*, cf. Av. *asəṅga-*, OP *aθanga-*;
- Gil. *yad* “memory”, MP *ayād* < Ir. **abi-yāta-*.

(2) If there were two consonants after the initial **a*, this was preserved:

- Gil. *abr* “cloud”, cf. MP *abr* < Ir. **abra-*, cf. Av. *aβra-*, OInd. *abhra-*;
- Gil. *angušt* “finger”, cf. Parth. *angušt* < Ir. **angušta-*, cf. Av. *angušta-*;
- obviously for the same reason, the vowel /a/ was preserved in the 1st pl. personal pronoun Gil. *ama* “we” < Ir. **ahmākam*, **ahmāxam*, cf. Av. *ahmākəm*, OP *ahmāxam*.

§ 34 Loss of initial **h*

[PKYa 496-97]

(1) In a number of words (mainly beginning with the prefix. **ham-*), initial **h* was already dropped in the Middle (cf. Parthian) or early New Iranian period (cf. Persian):

- Gil. *ambar* “barn, warehouse” < Ir. **ham-* + **pār-* “to fill”;
- Gil. *agə* “if”, cf. MP *agar*, cf. Av. *hakərəṭ* “once”, OP *hakaram*.

This process, apparently, remains alive at present, cf. Gil. *ham/am* (cf. enclitic *əm*) “too”, Gil. *hamra* “companion”, but Gil. *amra/amara* postposition denoting collaboration, instrumentality < **ham* + **rāh* “road” < Ir. **rāθa-*.

(2) Yet initial /h/ is preserved in most words. However, in my opinion /h/ is pronounced weakly in initial as well as internally position:

- Gil. *hamə* “all”;
- Gil. *hazār* “thousand” etc.

§ 35 Prosthetic and anaptyctic vowels

[PKYa 497]

(1) Gilaki, like Persian, does not allow the co-occurrence of two or more consonants at the beginning of a word. In those words, where it was observed in antiquity, in the New Iranian period a prosthetic vowel appeared, which is placed the initial consonant or (less often) before it (differently Geiger 1898-1901: 353):

- Gil. *setarə* “star” < Mlr. **stārag*, cf. MP *stārag*, cf. Ir. **stār-*, cf. Av. *stār-*;
- Gil. *abrar/bərar* “brother” cf. MP *brād* < Ir. **brātar-*, cf. Av. *brātar-*, OP *brātar-*, OInd. *bhrātar-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352);
- Gil. *xuros* (loanword, cf. Fum. *sugolə*) “rooster” < OGil. **xurōs*, cf. Ir. **xrautś-*, Av. *xraos-* “to cry out” (Stilo 2001: 660).

§ 36 Loss of final unstressed vowels

[PKYa 497-98]

(1) The loss of final unstressed vowels, and sometimes even entire syllables, which began in all Western Iranian languages already long before the beginning of the Middle Iranian period, is reflected also in Gilaki. Examples:

- Gil. *zərd* “yellow”, cf. MP *zard* < Ir. **džarita-*, cf. Av. *zairita-*, OInd. *harita-*;
- Gil. *xər/xar* “donkey”, cf. MP *xar* < Ir. **xara-*, cf. Av. *xara*;
- Gil. *dar* “tree”, cf. MP *dār* < Ir. **dāru-*, cf. Av. *dāru-*, OP *dāru-* “wood” (Geiger 1898-1901: 355);
- Gil. *har* “each”, cf. MP *har(w)* < Ir. **haruā-*, cf. Av. *hauruua-* “all, completely”, OP *haruva-*, OInd. *sarva*;
- Gil. *sər* “head” cf. MP *sar* < *Ir. *tśarah-*, Av. *sarah-*, OInd. *śiras-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 355).

§ 37 Treatment of **-ka-*

[PKYa 497]

(1) Most words that ended with the suffix **-ka-* (appended to vocalic stems), lost final **a* in the Middle Iranian period and then, in the New Iranian period, changed **k* into *g*, which was subsequently dropped in Gilaki:

- Gil. *ašəna/ašna* “familiar” < Mlr. **āšnāg* (cf. MP *āšnāg*) < **āšnāk* < Ir. **ā-xšnā-ka-*, cf. Av., OP *xšnā-* “to know”;

- Gil. *setarə* “star”, cf. MP *stārag*, cf. Ir. **stār-*, cf. Av. *stār-*;
- Gil. *abru* “eyebrow”, cf. MP *brūg* < Ir. **brūka-*, cf. Av. *bruuat-*, OInd. *bhrū-*;

(2) However, in a number of words the suffix *-ka- was preserved in the form of -k, less often -g, joined with the original stem (see, for example, Gil. *xuk* “pig” < Ir. **hū-ka-*), or -k (with diminutive and endearment value, for example in *zak* “baby, small child” < Ir. **džāta-ka-* beside *zay*, *zə* “child” < Ir. **džāta-*).

§ 38 Loss of final consonants

[PKYa 498]

The tendency to drop consonants at word end is also observed today.

(1) In the position after vowels the following can be dropped:

(a) the consonant *d*:

- Gil. *zama* “son-in-law”, cf. MP *dāmād* “bridegroom” < Ir. **džāmātar-*, cf. Av. *zāmātar-*, OInd. *jāmātar-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352).

(b) the consonant *h*:

- Gil. *ra(h)* “way, road”, cf. MP *rāh* < Ir. **rāθa-*, cf. Av. *raθa-* “carriage”, OInd. *ratha-*;
- Gil. *ruba* “fox”, cf. MP *rōbāh* < Ir. **raupatsa-*, cf. OP **raupaθa-*, OInd. *lopāśa-*;
- Gil. *ko* “mountain”, cf. MP *kōj* < Ir. **kaufa-*, cf. Av. *kaofa-*, OP *kaufā-*.

(c) the consonants *z*, *y*, *γ*:

- Gil. *či/čiz* “thing, somewhat, something”;
- Gil. *ru* “face” (< **rōy* < **rauda-* “person”, Av. *raoδa-*);
- Gil. *mo/moy* “hair”, MP *mōy*, Parth. *mōd* < *Ir. *mauda-*.

(2) In the position after consonants the following can be dropped:

(a) the consonant *d* (after *n*, *z*):

- Gil. *čən/čənd* “how many, several”;
- Gil. *duzd/duz* “thief”.

(b) the consonant *h* (in Arabic words):

- Gil. *sol* “peace, consent” < Ar. *sulh*;

– Gil. *sob* “morning” < Ar. *subḥ*.

(c) the consonant *t* (after *s, f*):

– Gil. *haḥ/haft* “seven”;

– Gil. *das/dast* “hand”.

§ 39 Internal loss of sounds and contractions

[PKYa 498-99]

(1) “The loss of individual sounds and whole syllables, the contraction and reduction of words and some of the most commonly used phrases were observed in virtually all Iranian languages at all stages of development, beginning in the late Old Iranian period. In Gilaki, ... where there was no restraining influence fixed in the writing of a strict literary norm (as, for example, in Persian), this process occurred (and occurs) especially actively. Leaving aside the cases of early, long-standing loss of sounds and contractions, most of which are in common with Persian, we will focus here on the later phenomena that are specific to [Gilaki]”¹¹. (my translation, p.498, PKYa)

These include:

(a) the loss of the consonants *f, x* in the clusters *ft, xt* in Eastern Gilaki as in Māzandarāni, Šāmerzādi and the Velatru dialect:

– EGil. *gutān* “to say”, cf. WGil. *guftān* (Geiger 1898-1901: 353; Stilo 2001: 660);

– EGil. *katān* “to fall”, cf. WGil. *kaftān* (Stilo 2001: 660);

– EGil. *pātān* “to cook”, cf. WGil. *pāxtān* (Geiger 1898-1901: 353; Stilo 2001: 660);

¹¹ Выпадение отдельных звуков и целых слогов, стяжание и сокращение слов и некоторых наиболее употребительных словосочетаний наблюдалось фактически во всех иранских языках на всех этапах развития, начиная с позднего древнеиранского периода. В гилянском, мазандеранском, шамерзади и диалекте Велатру, где отсутствовало сдерживающее влияние закрепленной в письменности строгой литературной нормы (как, например, в персидском), этот процесс проявился (и проявляется) особенно активно. Оставляя в стороне случаи раннего, давнего выпадения звуков и стяжений, в большинстве своем общих с персидским, мы сосредоточим здесь внимание на явлениях более поздних, характерных именно для данных языков.

- EGil. *sutən* “to burn”, cf. WGil. *suxtən* (Geiger 1898-1901: 353; Stilo 2001: 660).

(b) loss of *h* before consonants:

- Gil. *šar/šahr* “city”, cf. MP *šahr* “land, country” < Ir. **xšaθra-*, cf. Av. *xšaθra-*, OP *xšaça-*, OInd. *kṣatra-*;
- Gil. *palu/pahlu, pali* “side, flank”, cf. Ir. **partśu-*, cf. Av. *parəsu-*, *pərəsu-* “rib, side”;
- Gil. *meman/mehman* “guest”, cf. MP *mehmān* < Ir. **maiθman-*, cf. Av. *miθ-* “to rest, dwell”, *maēθana-* “dwelling”.

(c) loss of *g* (in the consonant cluster *rzg*) in the word:

- *vərza* “ox” (< **varzgāv*, cf. NP *varzā*).

(d) loss of the sequences **ah*, **ih* in the words:

- Gil. *čar* “four”, cf. MP. *čahār* < Ir. **čaθuār-*, cf. Av. *čaθbār-*, OInd. *catvār-*;
- Gil. *čel/čehel* “forty”;
- Gil. *bonə* “pretext, excuse” < OGil. **bahāna*, cf. ClP. *bahāna*.

(e) loss of the sequence **ir* in the words:

- Gil. *bəj* “rice” (cf. NP *berenj*);
- Gil. *gift-* pst. stem “to take” < **grift-* (as in MP) or **girift-* (as in ClP.);

(f) loss of the sequence **av* in the words:

- Gil. *tanəst-* pst. stem “can” (< **tavānist-*, cf. Cl. NP) (Geiger 1898-1901: 354);

(g) loss of the sequence **da* from Ir. **ta* in the words:

- Gil. *fadə* “he/she gave” < **fra dātā* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352);
- Gil. *abrar/bərar* “brother”, cf. MP *brādar* < Ir. **brātar-*, cf. Av. *brātar-*, OP *brātar-*, OInd. *bhrātar-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352);
- Gil. *mar* “mother”, cf. MP *mādar* < Ir. **mātar-*, cf. Av. *mātar-*, OP *mātar-*, OInd. *mātar-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352);

(h) loss of the sequence *āda*:

- *nan* “to put” < **ni’a’ən* < OGil. **ni-hādan* (by [1] elision of *i* and [2] contraction of *a’ə*);

- (i) *e* < **ida*, **īda* from Ir. **ita*, **īta* in words:
 - Gil. *per* “father”, cf. MP *pidar* obl. < Ir. **pitar-*, cf. Av. *pitar-*, OP *pitar-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352);
 - Gil. *den* “to see”, cf. MP *dīdan*.

§ 40 Univerbation

[PKYa 499]

(1) Contraction and merging of two words into one can be seen in the following cases:

- Gil. *bálavə* ← NP *be* ‘*alāve* “in addition”;
- Gil. *ato* “so” < *a* “this” + NP *towr* “manner, way”;
- Gil. *čuto/čutor* “what” < *če* “what” + NP *towr* “manner, way”.

§ 41 Assimilation of vowels

[PJā 499-500]

(1) In Gilaki, there is a phenomenon of regressive assimilation of vowels. Examples:

- Gil. *numunə* “sample” < **nəmunə* < **namūna* (cf. NP *nemune*) (< Ir. **ni-* + *mā-*);
- *zimin/zəmin* “land” < **zamīn* (cf. NP *zamin*);
- *subuk* “light” < **səbuk* < **sabuk* (cf. NP *sabok*).

(2) This is most clearly and naturally manifested in verbs, where vowels of preverbs and prefixes, as well as of negative particles, are fully or partially assimilated to the vowel of the stem; in other words, if the stem vowel is *ə* or *a*, prefix changes to *bə-*, *nə-*, *də-*, if the first vowel of stem is *i*, the prefix changes to *bi-*, *ni-*, *di-*, and if the first vowel of stem is *o* or *u*, prefix changes to *bu-*, *nu-*, *du-*:

(a) assimilation of the prefix *bə-*:

- *bəkəš* “drag!”;
- *binivis* “write!”;
- *bukun* “do!”.

(b) assimilation of the negative particle *nə-*:

- *nə-kəš* “don’t drag!”;

- *ni-nivis* “don’t write!”;
- *nu-kun* “don’t do!”.

(c) assimilation of the preverb *də-*:

- *dəkəftən* “to fall”;
- *dičən* < **dəčidən* “to assemble, stack”;
- *dibištən* “to fry”;
- *dukudən* “wear”.

§ 42 Assimilation of consonants

[PKYa 500]

(1) *s* < *st*:

- Gil. *išən* < **istən* “to stand” (Geiger 1898-1901: 354);
- Gil. *vasi* < **vassi* < *vast* “for the sake of”;
- Gil. *zəməsan* < **zəməssan* < *zəməstan* “winter”;
- Gil. *das* < **dass* < *dast* “hand”;
- Gil. *davassən* < **dabastən* < *bastan* “to close, fasten” (Geiger 1898-1901: 354).

(2) *dd* < *nd*

- Gil. *davaddəm* “I close” < **dabandəm* < *bandam* “to close, fasten” (Geiger 1898-1901: 354);
- Gil. *kadən* < *kandən* “to dig”;
- Gil. *-id* “3 pl. personal ending” < **-ind*, Mlr. **-ēnd*.

§ 43 Dissimilation of consonants

- Gil. *fan-dərəstən* “to see” < **far-dərəstən* < **fra-dərəstən* (dissimilation at a distance).

Texts: transcription

Text 1: [Zanxazi]

1.1 Zai ki bum, mi per bumord. 1.2 Mi mar majbor bovust ke an-i un-i kalfati bokuno. 1.3 Marə sabeyə ayam jaxtara nuşə. 1.4 Mi xaxur ji mi pillətar bu, mi dasta gifti marə bordi bijarsar. 1.5 Mar ji xorusxan dakafti bijarə duron. 1.6 Mayrebi xu başkafto janə mijə ami be xano. 1.7 Itə ruz – vazatə čillə bu – hava adama dimpara usuşani. 1.8 Xuk xu gomarkallo ji birun nami, majbur bom buşam ruxana je av vavarəm. 1.9 Moşe vagerdestən Saleya bidəm, maşti Ali aya pezar zakə. 1.10 Ta çan salə piş itə nimçe zaki bu, bozorgə bovustovo, itə xuşgelə rəi. 1.11 Hato, ki marə fandərəst, xu čuma kalasə kodu. 1.12 Itə var anə hai digadəm, ingar kişka ro ab fokuni. 1.13 Do mahə bad am xu perə dasa bigift o bomo ami xano zanxazi. 1.14 Anə mar o amjan-əm aşanə mijə bomovəd. 1.15 Mi mar marə vanversi aha fadi.

Text 2: [Saxtə zindigi]

2.1 Koşə čillə bu ki Hadiya bezastəm. 2.2 Varf čaçpareya bigiftavə. 2.3 Sale bikar bu, ami baranş am tomama bostuvu. 2.4 Marə hičvaxt jaxtara nuşə ita sal bad dovarə şakam usadəm. 2.5 Hato hato şiş ta şakam bezastəm. 2.6 Zakan tazu az ab o gil virün karə amandovəd ke Sale bumord. 2.7 Kar bogudəm ibče ibče pol jamə gudəm, zakan hanuz nimçe bud.

Text 3: [Səfər bə Maşad]

3.1 Dah salə piş bişim Maşad, xorusxan faresim. 3.2 Ti amjan o amjanmardə mi mijə buşuvom. 3.3 Itə utay fagiftim. 3.4 Damə zor bərün bişim, arəoreyə begerdas-tim. 3.5 Mi čuma vaza gudəm, bidəm mi pola beyabəstəd. 3.6 Hičči di naştim. 3.7 Ti amjan agi xu marə pol navardovi, vasi künə künə vagardəsdəvim. 3.8 Se röz Maşad besim. 3.9 Xaili amarə xoş bomu. 3.10 jayelan-i ivčə xardoxaşal fagiftəm. 3.11 Moşe

vagardestən ami otobus xarabə bovost: kolli moattali bakašim. 3.12 Az un be bad di Mašad nušəm. 3.13 Mi dil xayə i var di bušəm.

Text 4: [Aid]

4.1 Aid ki ami ami mar ama-ri yašangə libas vadoxti, tazu galuš hi. 4.2 Aidə röz ki busti, ušonə dogudim, šim mardom xano. 4.3 Amarə aidi fadid. 4.4 Mi mar amə-ri aidə šab halva o laku čegadi. 4.5 Ta se röz az aid arəura je ame-ri adam ami. 4.6 Ami jan di eškafti ašan -i palaxorušt čegadim. 4.7 Čan ruz ki az aid ši, mi mar ami dasa gifti amarə bordi Rašt. 4.8 Rašt u zamat alana namanesti. 4.9 Šon ta oyə xaili saxt bu, ba asp o yaatil vasi bišə bim ta oyə. 4.10 Aval šim ami xala xano, do röz ašanə xano isim. 4.11 Do röz am šim ami pillə dayi xano. 4.12 Ami dayi u ayam tazu radiyo bihevud. 4.13 Marə jaxtara nušə ami daizakana mijə bišim malegardi. 4.14 Šahrə jayelan yašangə libas dogudid. 4.15 Ašanə zanakan gula manestid. 4.16 Hame jayə fanderestim. 4.17 Itə var-am jayelana mijə bišim palaxuri: či kaifi amarə badi! 4.18 Bad az čan röz dovaro vasi vagerdestavim ami dahat: marə yama gifti.

Text 5: [Xando]

5.1 Donyə dö zar niyarzə. 5.2 Hasə karə hana fikrə kudandavəm. 5.3 Hato vasi jan badaxim axare am hiči! 5.4 Čan salə piš – tarə yad nayə – ti amu say bu: šiš nafara harif bu. 5.5 Itə šab buxoftə, di sob vinrišt. 5.6 Zindigi itə nafas o, šu bijir, di bujur nayə. 5.7 Ami dila xuša godim be ami malomanal, bextar an a ki ami dil hato xuš bamanə. 5.8 Maštə Ahmad tarə yad ayə? xuda ana biyamarzə 5.9 Dayam anə gazə laxo vaz bu, mardom ana kosxul danestid. 5.10 I var ana vaversəm ke čarə hato ti gazə laxo vaz ə, te ri aib u. 5.11 Xuri ništavə giftə, ta in ke i var hato xandu daškani, marə vagardastə bugoftə to itə kar bextar ji xandu dari marə bugo.

Texts: translation

Text 1: [Marriage Proposal]

1.1 When I was a child, my father died. 1.2 My mother was forced to serve for such and such a person. 1.3 I do not forget the old times¹². 1.4 My sister was older than me: she took my hands and took me to the rice field. 1.5 My mother would hurry into the rice field since cock crow. 1.6 She would return home at sunset with her dead body. 1.7 One day – it was midwinter – ¹³ the weather was so cold to burn the cheek¹⁴. 1.8 The pig did not get out of its briar patch, but I was forced to go and bring water from the river. 1.9 While returning (home), I saw Sāleh, the young son of Mr [Mašti]¹⁵ Ali. 1.10 Until a few years before, he was just a boy, (but now) he had grown up, [he had become] a handsome guy. 1.11 As soon as he looked at me, he opened his eyes wide. 1.12 I once reproached him, [but] it was like pouring water on a chick¹⁶. 1.13 Therefore, two month later, he took his father hands and came to our house for proposing marriage. 1.14 His mother and his paternal aunt had also come with them. 1.15 My mother did not ask me [and] accepted [the proposal].

12 In the translation, the round brackets (-) contain useful additions to make clear the meaning, while the square brackets [-] enclose the corresponding redundant Gilaki words in English.

13 The term *čillā* indicates a specific periods of days, originally forty days. *Avvalā čillā* is the first 40 days of winter (lit. “first *čillā*”), *vazatā čillā* is the second forty days of winter (lit. “middle *čillā*”) and *koje čillā* (lit. “little *čillā*”) is the last ten days of winter. The term may have different meanings in other regions of Iran.

14 An expression used to refer to very cold weather.

15 This title is used for one who has made the pilgrimage to Mašhad. It can be used as a general term of respect.

16 An expression that expresses the futility of an action.

Text 2: [Hard Life]

2.1 It was the end of the winter when I gave birth to Hādī. 2.2 The snow had covered the basin near the well (in the yard). 2.3 Sāleh was jobless (and) our rice had been used up too. 2.4 I never forget that I got pregnant again one year later. 2.5 In the same way, I gave birth six times. 2.6 The children were no chicken¹⁷ when their father (Sāleh) passed away. 2.7 I worked [and] saved money little by little, the children were still young.

Text 3: [Trip to Mašhad]

3.1 Ten years ago, we went to Mašhad¹⁸ (and) we arrived at cock crow. 3.2 I had gone with your paternal aunt and her husband. 3.3 We got a room. 3.4 Near midday, we went out, we strolled here and there. 3.5 I opened my eyes and I saw that my money had been pickpocketed. 3.6 I did not have a penny anymore. 3.7 If your paternal aunt did not bring money with her, I should have returned right back home. 3.8 We stayed three days in Mašhad. 3.9 We really liked it. 3.10 I bought some nice little something for the guys. 3.11 While returning home, our bus broke down: we waited a lot. 3.12 From then on, I have not gone to Mašhad anymore. 3.13 I would like to go to Mašhad once more.

Text 4: [New Year]

4.1 When the New Year arrived, our mother would sew new clothes and buy new *galuś*¹⁹ for us. 4.2 On the first day of New Year, (we children) would wear them and (we children) would visit acquaintances. 4.3 They would give us New Year's gifts.

17 An expression indicates growth during the period that includes childhood and adolescence and precedes reaching maturity.

18 A holy city in the northeast of Iran and capital of the province of Xorāsān-e Ražavi.

19 Waterproof plastic shoes.

4.4 On New Years eve, my mother would prepare us *halva*²⁰ and *laku*²¹. 4.5 For three days after New year, guests would come to us from here and there. 4.6 We were quiet dead on our feet for preparing rice and stew. 4.7 Several days after New Year, my mother would take our hand and take us to Rašt. 4.8 At that time, Rašt was not like now. 4.9 It was very difficult to go there, we had to go there by horse and mule. 4.10 First, we would go to the house of our maternal aunt (and) stay at their home for two days. 4.11 We would also go at our old maternal uncle's for two days. 4.12 In those days, at our maternal uncle's, they had bought a new radio. 4.13 I do not forget that we went sightseeing with our cousins. 4.14 City guys were wearing beautiful dresses. 4.15 Their women were like flowers. 4.16 We visited all (sightseeing) spots. 4.17 Once we also went to a restaurant with the guys: what a pleasure! 4.18 After a several days, we had to return to our village: I was so sad!

Text 5: [Laugh]

5.1 The world is not worth two pennies. 5.2 Now I was making just this thought. 5.3 We must suffer in this way (and) also finally nothing (remains)! 5.4 Several years ago – you do not remember – your paternal uncle was healthy: he could beat six persons. 5.5 One night he fell asleep (and) he did not wake up in the morning anymore. 5.6 Life is a breath, it goes down and it does not come up anymore. 5.7 We gave our heart to our money and property, (and) it would be better to be happy with this. 5.8 Do you remember Mr [Mašti] Ahmad, may God forgive him? 5.9 He would always chuckle, the people would consider him a crackpot. 5.10 Once I asked him: “Why do you chuckle so? It is a fault [on your side]. 5.11 He pretended not to hear (me), till that he suddenly burst into a laugh, he turned to me (and) said: “If you have something better than laughing, tell me!”.

20 Traditional New Year sweet made with white flour, sugar, saffron and rose water.

21 Local bread made with rice flour, saffron, oil, turmeric and eggs.

Texts: interlinear analysis

Fieldworks Language Explorer (FLEX version 8.3) is a tool developed by SIL International (Dallas) to help field linguists with elicitation of language materials and information, interlinearising texts and dictionary creation and publication. It consists of components designed to organize information for a given language, such as its lexicon, grammar and texts. The broad categories of language organization form separate component of the program: *Lexicon*, *Text & Words* and *Grammar*. Each of these component parts consists of a number of options and data fields, most of which can be customized to the needs of a given language project.

In the *Text & Words* component, corrections or modifications of a text must be done in the *Baseline* view, which displays the texts but does not show the grammatical analysis or the lexical information stored in the data base and accessible in the *Analyze* view of the *Text & Words* component. So, while working on interlinearization in the *Analyze* view, I had to make changes to the underlying text (e.g. punctuation or spelling errors) directly in the *Baseline* view. In the *Analyze* view, each word is represented in seven layers: word, morphemes, lexical entries, lexical glosses, lexical grammar information, word glosses and word category.

In the *Lexicon* component, there are representations of the lexical data, that can be used in the text analysis in the *Analyze* view of the *Text & Words* component. It is also possible to choose whether a given variant is a dialectal variant, a free variant, an irregularly inflected variant, or a spelling variant.

The *Grammar* component enables one to define the grammatical categories, inflectional templates, phonological information and other details needed for the description of a given language. At the end, the stored texts, linguistic information and grammatical and lexical analysis is used by the program to generate different outputs. Thus, after I input the texts and the relevant linguistic analysis in the various components of FLEX as needed, the program generated for me, from the modeled knowledge stored in the database: (1) a grammatical sketch; (2) a printout of the interlinearized texts; and (3) a glossary to the texts. These outputs are presented in the fol-

lowing pages as they were produced by FLE_x, with no additional editing. That is why, in the grammatical sketch, some inflectional templates lack a name or some definitions are missing, since providing them would have resulted in redundancy.

In this chapter, the interlinear analysis of the single words in a sentence consists of the following lines:

word
 morpheme analysis
 morpheme lexical entry/ies
 morpheme gloss(es)
 morpheme grammatical category/ies

word gloss(es)
 word grammatical category

Free translation [at the end of the interlinear analysis of each sentence]

Morpheme lexical entries, morpheme glosses and morpheme grammatical categories form the basis of the “Glossary” in the last chapter. Abbreviations of grammatical categories can be found in the “Sketch of Gilaki grammar” in next chapter.

Text 1: [*Zanxazi* “Marriage proposal”]

1.1	<i>Zai</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>bum</i>	,	<i>mi</i>	<i>per</i>
	zai	ki	b -um		mi	per
	zai	ki	bu -əm+FR. VAR. OF		mən	pər+DIAL. VAR. OF
	child	when	be.pst 1sg		I.GEN	father
	n	advlizer	Pst.ind v:SubAgr		pers	n
	child	when	be.pst		I.gen	father
	n	advlizer	Pst.ind		pers	n

bumord0
 bo- mord -0
 bə- murd+FR. VAR. OF -0₁
 pst die.pst 3sg.pst
 v:Pst Pst.ind Pst.ind:SubAgr

die.pst
 Pst.ind
 When I was child, my father died.

1.2	<i>Mi</i>	<i>mar</i>	<i>maǰbor</i>	<i>bovust0</i>		<i>ke</i>
	mi	mar	maǰbor	bo- vust	-0	ke
	mən	mar	maǰbor	bə- bust	-0 ₁	ki+FR. VAR. OF
	I.GEN	mother	forced	pst become.pst	3sg.pst	that
	pers	n	adj	v:Pst Pst.ind	Pst.ind:SubAgr	advlizer
	I.gen	mother	forced	become.pst		that
	pers	n	adj	Pst.ind		subordconn

<i>ani</i>	<i>uni</i>	<i>kalfati</i>	<i>bokuno</i>	
ani	uni	kalfati	bə- kun -o	.
an ₁	un	kalfati	bə- kun -ə ₁ +DIAL. VAR. OF	
this.GEN	that.GEN	housekeeping	sbjv do.prs 3sg.sbjv	
dem	dem	n	v:Sbjv Prs.ind Sbjv:SubAgr	
this	that	housekeeping	do.prs	
dem	dem	n	vt	

My mother was forced to serve for such and such a person.

1.3	<i>Marə</i>	<i>sabeyə</i>	<i>ayam</i>	<i>ǰaxtara</i>
	marə	sabey -ə	ayam	ǰaxtara
	mən	sabey -ə ₆	ayam	ǰaxtara
	I.ACCDAT	past attr	time	forgotten
	pers	adj adj:Any	n	adj
	I.accdat	past	time	forgotten
	pers	adj	n	adj

<i>nušə</i>		.
nu-	šo -ə	
nə-+FR. VAR. OF	šo -ə ₁	
not	go.prs 3sg.sbjv	
v:Any	Prs.ind Sbjv:SubAgr	

not.go.prs

Prs.ind

I do not forget the old times.

1.4	<i>Mi</i>	<i>xaxur</i>	<i>ǰi</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>pillətar</i>
	mi	xaxur	ǰi	mi	pillə -tar
	mən	xaxur	ǰə+FR. VAR. OF	mən	pillə -tar
	I.GEN	sister	than	I.GEN	old cppt
	pers	n	prep	pers	adj adj>adj
	I.gen	sister	than	I.gen	old.cppt
	persgen	n	prep	persgen	adj

<i>bu0</i>		,	<i>mi</i>	<i>dasta</i>		<i>gifti</i>	
bu	-0		mi	dast	-a	gift	-i
bu	-0 ₁		mən	dast	-a ₁	gift	-i ₁
be.pst	3sg.pst		I.GEN	hand	acc-dat	take.pst	3sg.impf
Pst.ind	Pst.ind:SubAgr		pers	n	n:(Case)	Pst.ind	Impf:SubAgr
be.pst			I.gen	hand.acc-dat		take.impf	
Pst.ind			persgen	n		Impf	

<i>marə</i>	<i>bordi</i>		<i>biĵar</i>	<i>sar</i>	.
marə	bord	-i	biĵar	sar	
mən	bord	-i ₁	biĵar	sar	
I.ACCDAT	take.pst	3sg.impf	rice field	to	
pers	Pst.ind	Impf:SubAgr	n	postp	
I.accdat	take.impf		rice field	to	
persaccdat	Impf		n	postp	

My sister was older than me: she took my hand and took me to the rice field.

1.5

<i>Mar</i>	<i>ĵi</i>		<i>xorusxan</i>	<i>dakafti</i>	
mar	ĵi		xorusxan	dakaft	-i
mar	ĵə ⁺ FR. VAR. OF		xorusxan	dakaft	-i ₁
mother	since		cock crow	hurry.pst	3sg.impf
n	prep		n	Pst.ind	Impf:SubAgr
mother	since		cock crow	hurry.impf	
n	prep		n	Impf	

<i>biĵarə</i>	<i>duron</i>	.
biĵar	-ə	duron
biĵar	-ə ₇	duron
rice field	gen	into
n	n:(Case)	postp
rice field	into	
n	postp	

My mother would hurry into the rice field since cock crow.

1.6

<i>Mayreb</i>	=	<i>i</i>	<i>xu</i>
mayreb		=i	xu
mayreb		=i ₂	xu
sunset		=deic	oneself.sg
n		nomprt	refl
sunset		deic	oneself.gen
n		nomprt	refl

<i>baškafto</i>			<i>janə</i>		<i>mijə</i>
b-	aškaft	-o	jan	-ə	mijə
bə-	eškaft+FR. VAR. OF	-ə ₂ +FR. VAR. OF	jan	-ə ₇	mijə
pst.ptcp	break.pst	ptcp.pst	body	gen	with
Pst.ptcp:(Pst.ptcp)	Pst.ind	Pst.ptcp:SubAgr	n	n:(Case)	postp
break.pst.ptcp			body		with
ptcp			n		postp

<i>ami</i>		<i>be</i>	<i>xano</i>	.
am	-i	be	xano	
am ₂	-i ₁	bə+FR. VAR. OF	xanə+FR. VAR. OF	
come.pst	3sg.impf	to	home	
Pst.ind	Impf:SubAgr	prep	n	

come.impf	to	home
Impf	prep	n

She would return home at sunset with her dead body.

1.7	<i>I</i>	<i>tə</i>	<i>ruz</i>	—	<i>vazatə</i>	
	i	tə	ruz		vazat	-ə
	i	ta ₁ +DIAL. VAR. OF	ruz		vasat+FR. VAR. OF	-ə ₆
	one	clf	day		mid	attr
	cardnum	nclf	n		adj	adj:Any
	one	clf	day		mid	
	cardnum	clf	n		adj	

<i>čillə</i>		<i>bu0</i>	—	<i>hava</i>	<i>adama</i>	
čillə		bu	-0	hava	adam	-a
čillə		bu	-0 ₁	hava	adam	-a ₁
part of winter		be.pst	3sg.pst	weather	person	acc-dat
n		Pst.ind	Pst.ind:SubAgr	n	n	n:(Case)
part of winter		be.pst		weather	person	
n		Pst.ind		n	n	

<i>dimpara</i>		<i>usuḡani</i>	.
dimpar -a		usuḡan	-i
dimpar -a ₁		usuḡan	-i ₁
cheek	acc-dat	burn.pst	3sg.impf
n	n:(Case)	Pst.ind	Impf:SubAgr

cheek	burn.impf
n	Impf

One day – it was midwinter – the weather was so cold to burn the cheek.

1.8	<i>Xuk</i>	<i>xu</i>	<i>gomarkallo</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>birun</i>
	xuk	xu	gomarkallo	ji	birun
	xuk	xu	gomarkallo	ja+FR. VAR. OF	birun
	pig	oneself.sg	briar patch	from	out
	n	refl	n	postp	adv
	pig	oneself.gen	briar patch	from	out
	n	refl	n	postp	adv

<i>nami</i>			,	<i>majbur</i>	<i>bom</i>
n-	am	-i		majbur	b -om
nə-	am ₂	-i ₁		majbur	bu -əm+FR. VAR. OF
not	come.pst	3sg.impf		forced	be.pst 1sg
v:Any	Pst.ind	Impf:SubAgr		adj	Pst.ind v:SubAgr
come.impf				forced	be.pst
Impf				adj	Pst.ind

<i>bušam</i>			<i>ruxana</i>	<i>je</i>
bu-	šo	-am	ruxan -a	je
bə-	šo	-əm+FR. VAR. OF	ruxan -ə7+FR. VAR. OF	ja+FR. VAR. OF
sbjv	go.prs 1sg		river gen	from
v:Sbjv	Prs.ind	v:SubAgr	n n:(Case)	postp
go.prs.sbjv			river	from
Prs.sbjv			n	postp

<i>av</i>	<i>vavarəm</i>		.
av	va-	var	-əm
av	bə-+FR. VAR. OF	bar	-əm
water	sbjv	bring.prs 1sg	
n	v:Sbjv	Prs.ind	v:SubAgr
water	bring.prs		
n	Prs.sbjv		

The pig did not get out of its briar patch, but I was forced to go and bring water from the river.

1.9	<i>Moye</i>	=	<i>e</i>	<i>vagerdestən</i>	<i>Saleya</i>
	moye	=e		vagardest -ən	Sale -ya
	moye	=ə1+FR. VAR. OF		vagardest -ən	Sale -a ₁
	time	=ezf		return.pst inf	Saleh acc-dat
	n	nomprt		Pst.ind Inf:SubAgr	nprop n:(Case)
	time	ezf		return.inf	Saleh
	n	nomprt		Inf	nprop

<i>bidəm</i>		,	<i>mašti</i>	<i>Ali</i>	<i>aḡa</i>	<i>pezar</i>
bi- di -əm			mašti	Ali	aḡa	pezar
bə- di ₃ -əm			mašti	Ali	aḡa	pesər ^{+FR.} VAR. OF
pst see.pst 1sg			mashti	Ali	mister	son
v:Pst Pst.ind v:SubAgr			adj	nprop	n	n
see.pst			mashti	Ali	mister	son
Pst.ind			adj	nprop	n	n

zaka .
zak -a
zai -a₁
child acc-dat
n n:(Case)

child
n

While returning (home), I saw Sāleh , the young son of Mr [Mašti] Ali.

1.10	<i>Ta</i>	<i>čan</i>	<i>sal</i>	=	<i>ə</i>	<i>piš</i>	<i>i</i>
	ta	čan	sal		=ə	piš	i
	ta ₂	čan	sal		=ə ₁	piš	i
	until	a few	year		=ezf	before	one
	prep	quant	n		nomprt	adv	cardnum
	until	a few	year		ezf	before	one
	prep	quant	n		nomprt	adv	cardnum

<i>tə</i>	<i>nimče</i>	<i>zak</i>	=	<i>i</i>	<i>bu0</i>	,
tə	nimče	zak		=i	bu -0	
ta ₁ +DIAL. VAR. OF	nimče	zai		=i ₃	bu -0 ₁	
clf	small	child		=	be.pst 3sg.pst	
nclf	adj	n			Pst.ind Pst.ind:SubAgr	
clf	small	child		indf	be.pst	
clf	adj	n		a	Pst.ind	
				indf		

<i>bozorga</i>	<i>bovustovo0</i>	,
bozorg -a	bo- vust -ovo -0	
bozorg -a ₃	bə- bust -əvo ^{+FR.} VAR. OF -0 ₁	
big sbjcomp	pst become.pst pstpluprf 3sg.pst	
adj adj:Any	v:Pst Pst.ind Pst.ind:PstPluprf Pst.ind:SubAgr	
big	become.pstprf	
adj	Pluprf	

<i>i</i>	<i>tə</i>	<i>xuʃgelə</i>	<i>rəi</i>	.
i	tə	xuʃgel	-ə	rəi
i	ta ₁ +DIAL. VAR. OF	xuʃgel	-ə ₆	rəi
one	clf	handsome attr		guy
cardnum	nclf	adj	adj:Any	n

one clf handsome guy
cardnum clf adj n

Until a few years before, he was just a boy, (but now) he had grown up, [he had become] a handsome guy.

1.11	<i>Hato ki</i>	<i>marə</i>	<i>fandərəst</i>	,	<i>xu</i>	<i>čuma</i>
	hato ki	marə	fandərəst		xu	čum -a
	hato ki	mən	fandərəst		xu	čum -a ₁
	as soon as	I.ACCDAT	look at		oneself.sg	eye acc-dat
	advlizer	pers	Pst.ind		refl	n n:(Case)
	as soon as	I.accdat	look at			eye
	advlizer	pers	Pst.ind		adj	n

<i>kalasa kod0u</i>				.
kalasa kod		-0		-u
kalasa kud+FR. VAR. OF		-əVO+FR. VAR. OF		-ə ₃ +FR. VAR. OF
open one's eyes wide.pst	pstpluprf		3sg.pstprf	
Pst.ind	Pst.ind:PstPluprf		Pst.ind:SubAgr	

open one's eyes wide.pst
Pst.ind

As soon as he looked at me, he opened his eyes wide.

1.12	<i>I</i>	<i>tə</i>	<i>var</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>hay digadəm</i>	,
	i	tə	var	ana	hay digad	-əm
	i	ta ₁ +DIAL. VAR. OF	var	an ₂	hay digad	-əm
	one	clf	time	he.ACCDAT	reproach.pst	1sg
	cardnum	nclf	n	pers	Pst.ind	v:SubAgr
	one	clf	time	he.accdat	reproach	
	cardnum	clf	n	pers	Pst.ind	

<i>ingar</i>	<i>kiška</i>	<i>ro</i>	<i>av</i>	<i>fokuni</i>	.
ingar	kiška	ro	av	fokun	-i
ingar	kiška	ro	av	fokun	-i ₃
as if	chick	on	water	throw.prs	2sg
advlizer	n	postp	n	Prs.ind	v:SubAgr

as if chick on water throw.prs
subordconn n postp n Prs.ind

I once reproached him, [but] it was like pouring water on a chick.

1.13	<i>Do</i>	<i>ma</i>	=	<i>ə</i>	<i>bad</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>xu</i>
	do	ma		=ə	bad	am	xu
	do	ma		=ə ₁	bad	am ₁	xu
	two	month		=ezf	later	also	oneself.sg
	cardnum	n		nomprt	adv	coordconn	refl
	two	month		ezf	later	also	oneself.gen
	ordnum	pers		nomprt	adj	coordconn	refl

<i>perə</i>			<i>dasa</i>		<i>bigift0</i>
per	-ə		das	-a	bi- gift -0
pər ^{+DIAL. VAR. OF}	-ə ₇		das	-a ₁	bə- gift -0 ₁
father	gen		hand	acc-dat	pst take.pst 3sg.pst
n	n:(Case)		n	n:(Case)	v:Pst Pst.ind Pst.ind:SubAgr
father			hand		take.pst
n			n		Pst.ind

<i>o</i>		<i>bomo</i>		<i>ami</i>
o		b- om	-o	ami
o ₁		bə- am ₂ +FR. VAR. OF	-ə ₃ +FR. VAR. OF	amən
and		pst come.pst	3sg.pstprf	we.GEN
coordconn		v:Pst Pst.ind	Pst.ind:SubAgr	pers
and		come.pst		we.gen
coordconn		Pst.ind		pers

<i>xano</i>	<i>zanxazi</i>	.
xano	zanxazi	
xanə ^{+FR. VAR. OF}	zanxazi	
home	proposing marriage	
n	adj	
home	marriage proposal	
n	adj	

Therefore, two month later, he took his father hands and came to our house for proposing marriage.

1.14	<i>Anə</i>	<i>mar</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>amjan</i>	=	<i>əmə</i>
	anə	mar	o	amjan		əmə
	an ₂	mar	o ₁	amjan		am ₁ +ENC. OF
	he.GEN	mother	and	paternal aunt		also
	pers	n	coordconn	n		coordconn
	he.gen	mother	and	paternal aunt		also
	pers	n	coordconn	n		coordconn

<i>ašanə</i>	<i>mijə</i>	<i>bomovəd</i>			
ašanə	mijə	b- om	-ov	-əd	
ašan	mijə	bə- am ₂ +FR. VAR. OF	-əvo+FR. VAR. OF	-id+FR. VAR. OF	
they.GEN	with	pst come.pst	pstpluprf	3pl.	
pers	postp	v:Pst Pst.ind	Pst.ind:PstPluprf	v:SubAgr	

they.gen with come.pstprf
pers postp Pluprf

His mother and his paternal aunt had also come with them.

1.15	<i>Mi</i>	<i>mar</i>	<i>marə</i>	<i>vanversi0</i>	<i>aha</i>
	mi	mar	marə	vanversi -0	aha
	mən	mar	mən	vanversi -0 ₁	aha
	I.GEN	mother	I.ACCDAT	ask.neg.pst 3sg.pst	yes
	pers	n	pers	Pst.ind Pst.ind:SubAgr	interj
	I.gen	mother	I.accdat	ask.neg.pst	yes
	persgen	n	persaccdat	Pst.ind	interj

<i>fadi</i>	
fad -i	
fad -i ₁	
give.pst 3sg.impf	
Pst.ind Impf:SubAgr	

give.pst
Pst.ind

My mother did not ask me [and] accepted [the proposal].

Text 2: [*Saxtə zindigi* “Hard life”]

2.1	<i>Koǰə</i>	<i>čillə</i>	<i>bu0</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>Hadiya</i>
	koǰə	čillə	bu -0	ki	Hadi -ya
	koǰə	čillə	bu -0 ₁	ki	Hadi -a ₁
	small	part of winter	be.pst 3sg.pst	when	Hadi acc-dat
	adj	n	Pst.ind Pst.ind:SubAgr	advlizer	nprop n:(Case)
	small	part of winter	be.pst	when	Hadi
	adj	n	Pst.ind	subordconn	nprop

<i>bezastəm</i>	
be-	zast -əm
bə-+FR. VAR. OF	zast -əm
pst	give birth to.pst 1sg
v:Pst	Pst.ind v:SubAgr

give birth to.pst
vt

It was the end of the winter when I gave birth to Hādī.

2.2	<i>Varf</i>	<i>čačpareya</i>
	varf	čačpare -ya
	varf	čačpare -a ₁
	snow	basin near the well acc-dat
	n	n n:(Case)
	snow	basin near the well
	n	n

bigiftavə0

bi-	gift	-avə	-0
bə-	gift	-əvo+FR. VAR. OF	-0 ₁
pst	take.pst	pstpluprf	3sg.pst
v:Pst	Pst.ind	Pst.ind:PstPluprf	Pst.ind:SubAgr

take.pstprf

Pluprf

The snow had covered the basin near the well (in the yard).

2.3	<i>Sale</i>	<i>bikar</i>	<i>bu0</i>	,	<i>ami</i>	<i>baranj</i>	<i>am</i>
	Sale	bikar	bu -0		ami	baranj	am
	Sale	bikar	bu -0 ₁		amən	baranj	am ₁
	Saleh	jobless	be.pst 3sg.pst		we.GEN	rice	also
	nprop	adj	Pst.ind Pst.ind:SubAgr		pers	n	coordconn
	Saleh	jobless	be.pst		we.gen	rice	also
	nprop	adj	Pst.ind		pers	n	coordconn

tomama

bostuvə0

tomam	-a	bost	-uvə	-0
tomam	-a ₃	bust+FR. VAR. OF	-əvo+FR. VAR. OF	-0 ₁
finished	sbjcomp	become.pst	pstpluprf	3sg.pst
adj	adj:Any	Pst.ind	Pst.ind:PstPluprf	Pst.ind:SubAgr

finished

become.pstprf

adj

Pluprf

Sāleh was jobless (and) our rice had been used up too.

2.4	<i>Marə</i>	<i>hičvaxt</i>	<i>jaxtara</i>
	marə	hičvaxt	jaxtara
	mən	hičvaxt	jaxtara
	I.ACCDAT	never	forgotten
	pers	adv	adj
	I.accdat	never	forgotten
	persaccdat	adv	adj

<i>nušə</i>				<i>i</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>sal</i>
nu-	šo	-ə		i	ta	sal
nə-+FR. VAR. OF	šo	-e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF		i	ta ₁	sal
not	go.prs	3sg.ind		one	clf	year
v:Any	Prs.ind	Prs.ind:SubAgr		cardnum	nclf	n
go.prs				one	clf	year
Prs.ind				cardnum	nclf	n

<i>bad</i>	<i>dovarə</i>	<i>šakam</i>	<i>usadəm</i>	.
bad	dovarə	šakam	usad -əm	
bad	dovarə	šakam	usad -əm	
later	again	belly	take.pst 1sg	
adv	adv	n	Pst.ind v:SubAgr	

later	again	belly	take.pst
adv	adv	n	Pst.ind

I never forget that I got pregnant again one year later.

2.5	<i>Hato</i>	<i>hato</i>	<i>šiš</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>šakam</i>
	hato	hato	šiš	ta	šakam
	hato	hato	šiš	ta ₁	šakam
	so	so	six	clf	belly
	adv	adv	cardnum	nclf	n
	so	so	six	clf	belly
	adv	adv	cardnum	n	n

<i>bezastəm</i>			.
be-	zast	-əm	
bə-+FR. VAR. OF	zast	-əm	
pst	give birth to.pst	1sg	
v:Pst	Pst.ind	v:SubAgr	

give birth to.pst
Pst.ind

In the same way, I gave birth six times.

2.6	<i>Zakan</i>	<i>tazu</i>	<i>az</i>	<i>av</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>gil</i>
	zak -an	tazu	az	av	o	gil
	zai -an	tazu	az	av	o ₁	gil
	child pl	just	from	water	and	mud
	n n:(Pl)	adv	prep	n	coordconn	n
	baby	just	from	water	and	mud
	n	adv	prep	n	coordconn	n

<i>virun</i>		<i>karə</i>
virun		karə
birun+FR. VAR. OF		karə
out		cont.part
adv		adv
out		cont.part
adv		adv

<i>amandovəd</i>		<i>ke</i>	<i>Sale</i>
am	-andov-	-əd	Sale
am ₂	-əndovu+FR. VAR. OF	-id+FR. VAR. OF	Sale
come.pst	pst.cnt	3pl.	Saleh
Pst.ind	Pst.ind:PstCnt	v:SubAgr	nprop
come.pst		when	Saleh
PstCnt		subordconn	nprop

<i>bumord0</i>		.
bo- mord	-0	
bə- murd+FR. VAR. OF	-0 ₁	
pst die.pst	3sg.pst	
v:Pst Pst.ind	Pst.ind:SubAgr	

die.pst
Pst.ind

The children were no chicken when their father (Sāleh) passed away.

2.7	<i>Kar</i>	<i>bogudəm</i>	<i>ibče</i>	<i>ibče</i>	<i>pol</i>
	kar	bo- gud	-əm	ibče	pol
	kar	bə- kud+FR. VAR. OF	-əm	ibče	pol
	work	pst do.pst	1sg	little	money
	n	v:Pst Pst.ind	v:SubAgr	adv	n
	work	do.pst		little	money
	n	Pst.ind		adv	n

<i>jamə</i>		<i>gudəm</i>	,	<i>zakan</i>
jam	-ə	gud	-əm	zak -an
jam	-a ₄ +FR. VAR. OF	kud+FR. VAR. OF	-əm	zai -an
addition objcomp		do.pst	1sg	child pl
n	n:Any	Pst.ind	v:SubAgr	n n:(Pl)
addition		do.pst		child
n		Pst.ind		n

<i>hanuz</i>	<i>nimče</i>	<i>bud</i>	
hanuz	nimče	bu	-d
hanuz	nimče	bu	-id
still	little	be.pst 3pl..IRR.INFL	
adv	adj	Pst.ind v:SubAgr	

still	small	be.pst
adv	adj	Pst.ind

I worked [and] saved money little by little, the children were still young.

Text 3: [*Səfər bə Mašad* “Trip to Mašhad”]

3.1	<i>Dah</i>	<i>sal</i>	= <i>ə</i>	<i>piš</i>	<i>bišim</i>	<i>Mašad</i>	,
	dah	sal	=ə	piš	bi- šo -im	Mašad	
	dah	sal	=ə ₁	piš	bə- šo -im	Mašad	
	ten	year	=ezf	before	pst go.pst 1pl	Mashad	
	cardnum	n	nomprt	adv	v:Pst Pst.ind v:SubAgr	nprop	

ten	year	ezf	before	go.pst	Mashad
cardnum	n	nomprt	adv	Pst.ind	nprop

<i>xorusxan</i>	<i>faresim</i>	
xorusxan	fares	-im
xorusxan	fares	-im
cock crow	arrive.pst 1pl	
n	Pst.ind v:SubAgr	

cock crow	arrive.pst
n	Pst.ind

Ten years ago, we went to Mašhad (and) we arrived at cock crow.

3.2	<i>Ti</i>	<i>amjan</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>amjanmardə</i>	
	ti	amjan	o	amjanmard	-ə
	to	amjan	o ₁	amjanmard	-ə ₇
	you.GEN	paternal aunt	and	husband of paternal aunt	gen
	persnom	n	coordconn	n	n:(Case)

you.gen	paternal aunt	and	husband of paternal aunt
pers	n	coordconn	n

<i>mimiǰə</i>	<i>bušuvom</i>	
mimiǰə	bu- š -uv	-om
mimiǰə	bə- šo -əVO+FR. VAR. OF	-əm+FR. VAR. OF
with	pst go.pst pstpluprf	1sg
postp	v:Pst Pst.ind Pst.ind:PstPluprf	v:SubAgr

with	go.pst
postp	Pluprf

I had gone with your paternal aunt and her husband.

- 3.3 *I* *tə* *utay* *fagiftim* .
- | | | | | |
|---------|--------------------------------|------|---------|----------|
| i | tə | utay | fagift | -im |
| i | ta ₁ +DIAL. VAR. OF | utay | fagift | -im |
| one | clf | room | get.pst | 1pl |
| cardnum | nclf | n | Pst.ind | v:SubAgr |
-
- | | | | |
|---------|-----|------|---------|
| one | clf | room | get.pst |
| cardnum | clf | n | Pst.ind |
- We got a room.

- 3.4 *Dam* = *ə* *zor* *bəron* *bišim* ,
- | | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|--------|-------|--------|------------------|
| dam | =ə | zor | bəron | bi- šo | -im |
| dam | =ə ₁ | zor | bəron | bə- šo | -im |
| near | =ezf | midday | out | pst | go.pst 1pl |
| adv | nomprt | n | adv | v:Pst | Pst.ind v:SubAgr |
-
- | | | | | |
|------|--------|--------|-----|---------|
| near | ezf | midday | out | go.pst |
| adv | nomprt | n | adv | Pst.ind |

arəoreyə *begerdastim* .

arəore	-yə	be-	gerdast	-im
arəore	-a ₁ +FR. VAR. OF	bə-+FR. VAR. OF	gerdast	-im
here and there	acc-dat	pst	stroll.pst	1pl
adv	n:(Case)	v:Pst	Pst.ind	v:SubAgr

here and there	stroll.pst
adv	Pst.ind

Near midday, we went out, we strolled here and there.

- 3.5 *Mi* *čuma* *vaza* *gudəm* ,
- | | | | | |
|-------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------|
| mi | čum -a | vaz -a | gud | -əm |
| mən | čum -a ₁ | vaz -a ₄ | kud+FR. VAR. OF | -əm |
| I.GEN | eye acc-dat | open objcomp | do.pst | 1sg |
| pers | n n:(Case) | adj n:Any | Pst.ind | v:SubAgr |
-
- | | | | |
|---------|-----|------|---------|
| I.gen | eye | open | do.pst |
| persgen | n | adj | Pst.ind |

bidəm *mi* *pola*

bi- d	-əm	mi	pol	-a
bə- di ₃	-əm	mən	pol	-a ₁
pst	see.pst 1sg	I.GEN	money	acc-dat
v:Pst	Pst.ind v:SubAgr	pers	n	n:(Case)

see.pst	I.gen	money
Pst.ind	persgen	n

beyabəstəd

be-	γabəst	-əd
bə-+FR. VAR. OF	γabəst	-id+FR. VAR. OF
pst	pickpocket.pst	3pl.
v:Pst	Pst.ind	v:SubAgr

pickpocket.pst
Pst.ind

I opened my eyes and I saw that my money had been pickpocketed.

3.6 *Hičči di naštīm*

hičči	di	n-	ašt	-im
hičči	di ₁	nə-	dašt	-im
nothing	more	not	have.pst	1pl
indfpro	adv	v:Any	Pst.ind	v:SubAgr

nothing more have.pst
indfpro adv Pst.ind

I did not have a penny anymore.

3.7 *Ti amjan agi xu marə pol*

ti	amjan	agi	xu	marə	pol
to	amjan	agi	xu	marə ₁	pol
you.GEN	paternal aunt	if	oneself.sg	with	money
persnom	n	advlizer	refl	postp	n
you.gen	paternal aunt	if	oneself.sg	with	money
pers	n	advlizer	refl	postp	n

navardovi, *vasi küna küna*

n-	avard	-ovo	-i	vasi	küna	küna
nə-	avard	-əvo+FR. VAR. OF	-i ₂	vasi	küna	küna
not	bring.pst	pstpluprf	3sg.sbj	have to	back	back
v:Any	Pst.ind	Pst.ind:PstPluprf	Pst.sbj:SubAgr	Mod	adv	adv
bring.pst				have to	back	back
vt				Mod	adv	adv

vagardəsdəvim

vagardəsd	-əv	-im
vagardəst+FR. VAR. OF	-əvi	-im
return.pst	pstsbj	1pl
Pst.ind	Pst.sbj:Pst.sbj	v:SubAgr

return.pst
Pst.ind

If your paternal aunt did not bring money with her, I should have returned right back home.

3.8	<i>Se</i>	<i>röz</i>	<i>Mašad</i>	<i>besim</i>	.
	se	röz	Mašad	b- es	-im
	se	röz	Mašad	bə- is+FR. VAR. OF	-im
	three	day	Mashad	pst stay.pst	1pl
	cardnum	n	nprop	v:Pst Pst.ind	v:SubAgr

three day Mashad stay.pst
cardnum n nprop Pst.ind

We stayed three days in Mašhad.

3.9	<i>Xaili</i>	<i>amarə</i>	<i>xoš</i>	<i>bomu</i>	.
	xaili	amarə	xoš	b- om	-u
	xaili	amən	xoš	bə- am ₂ +FR. VAR. OF	-ə ₃ +FR. VAR. OF
	much	we.ACCDAT	pleasant	pst come.pst	3sg.pstprf
	adv	pers	adj	v:Pst Pst.ind	Pst.ind:SubAgr

much we.accdat pleasant come.pst
adv persaccdat adj Prf

We really liked it.

3.10	<i>ĵayelan</i>	= <i>i</i>	<i>ivčə</i>	<i>xardoxašal</i>
	ĵayelan	=i	ivčə	xardoxašal
	ĵayelan	=rə+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	ibče+FR. VAR. OF	xardoxašal
	guy	=for	little	something nice
	n	postp	adj	n
	guy	for	little	something nice
	n	postp	adj	n

fagiftəm .
fagift -əm
fagift -əm
get.pst 1sg
Pst.ind v:SubAgr

get.pst
Pst.ind

I bought some nice little something for the guys.

3.11	<i>Moye</i>	= <i>e</i>	<i>vagardestən</i>	<i>ami</i>	<i>otobus</i>
	moye	=e	vagardest -ən	ami	otobus
	moye	=ə ₁ +FR. VAR. OF	vagardest -ən	amən	otobus
	time	=ezf	return.pst inf	we.GEN	bus
	n	nomprt	Pst.ind Inf:SubAgr	pers	n
	time	ezf	return.pst	we.gen	bus
	n	nomprt	Inf	pers	n

<i>xarabə</i>		<i>bovoŋ</i>		:	<i>kolli</i>
xarab -ə		bo- vost	-0		kolli
xarab -a ₃ +FR. VAR. OF		bə- bust+FR. VAR. OF	-0 ₁		kolli
broken sbjcomp		pst become.pst	3sg.pst		a lot
adj adj:Any		v:Pst Pst.ind	Pst.ind:SubAgr		adv
broken		become.pst			a lot
adj		Pst.ind			adv

<i>moattali</i>	<i>bakašim</i>				
moattali	ba-	kaš	-im		
moattali	bə-+FR. VAR. OF	kaš	-im		
wait	pst	pull.pst	1pl		
n	v:Pst	Pst.ind	v:SubAgr		
wait	pull.pst				
n	Pst.ind				

While returning home, our bus broke down: we waited a lot.

3.12	<i>Az</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>bad</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>Mašad</i>
	az	un	be	bad	di	Mašad
	az	un	bə+FR. VAR. OF	bad	dī ₁	Mašad
	from	that	to	later	more	Mashad
	prep	dem	prep	adv	adv	nprop
	from	that	to	later	more	Mashad
	prep	dem	prep	adv	adv	nprop

<i>nušəm</i>					
nu-	šo	-əm			
nə-+FR. VAR. OF	šo	-əm			
not	go.pst	1sg			
v:Any	Pst.ind	v:SubAgr			

go.pst
Pst.ind

From then on, I have not gone to Mašhad anymore.

3.13	<i>Mi</i>	<i>dil</i>	<i>xayə</i>		<i>i</i>	<i>var</i>
	mi	dil	xay	-ə	i	var
	mən	dil	xay	-e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF	i	var
	I.GEN	heart	want.prs	3sg.ind	one	time
	pers	n	Prs.ind	Prs.ind:SubAgr	cardnum	n
	I.gen	heart	want.prs		one	time
	persgen	n	Prs.ind		cardnum	n

<i>di</i>	<i>bušəm</i>	.
di	bu- šo -əm	
di ₁	bə- šo -əm	
more	sbjv go.prs 1sg	
adv	v:Sbjv Prs.ind v:SubAgr	

more go.pst
adv Pst.ind
I would like to go to Mašhad once more

Text 4: [*Aid* “New Year”]

4.1	<i>Aid</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>ami</i>		<i>ami</i>	<i>mar</i>
	aid	ki	am	-i	ami	mar
	aid	ki	am ₂	-i ₁	amən	mar
	New Year	when	come.pst	3sg.impf	we.GEN	mother
	n	advlizer	Pst.ind	Impf:SubAgr	pers	n
	New Year	when	come.pst		we.gen	mother
	n	advlizer	Impf		pers	n

<i>amari</i>	<i>yašangə</i>	<i>libas</i>	<i>vadoxti</i>		<i>tazu</i>
amari	yašang -ə	libas	vadoxt -i		tazu
amən	yašang -ə ₆	libas	vadoxt -i ₁		tazu
we.ACCDAT	pretty attr	clothes	sew.pst 3sg.impf		new
pers	adj adj:Any	n	Pst.ind Impf:SubAgr		adj
we.accdat	pretty	cloth	sew.pst		new
persaccdat	adj	n	Impf		adj

<i>galuš</i>	<i>hi</i>	.
galuš	h -i	
galuš	hə -i ₁	
galuš	buy.pst 3sg.impf	
n	Pst.ind Impf:SubAgr	

galuš buy.pst
n Impf
When the New Year arrived, our mother would sew new clothes and buy new galuš for us.

4.2	<i>Aidə</i>		<i>röz</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>busti</i>		,
	aid	-ə	röz	ki	bust	-i	
	aid	-ə ₇	röz	ki	bust	-i ₁	
	New Year	gen	day	when	become.pst	3sg.impf	
	n	n:(Case)	n	advlizer	Pst.ind	Impf:SubAgr	
	New Year		day	when	become.pst		
	n		n	advlizer	Impf		
	<i>ušonə</i>		<i>dogudim</i>				,
	ušonə		dogud	-im		šo	-im
	ušon		dogud	-im		šo	-im
	they.ACCDAT		wear.pst	1pl		go.pst	1pl
	pers		Pst.ind	v:SubAgr		Pst.ind	v:SubAgr
	they.accdat		wear.pst			go.pst	
	pers		Impf			Impf	
	<i>mardomə</i>		<i>xano</i>				.
	mardom	-ə	xano				
	mardom	-ə ₇	xanə+FR. VAR. OF				
	acquaintances	gen	home				
	n	n:(Case)	n				
	acquaintances		home				
	n		n				

On the first day of New Year, (we children) would wear them and (we children) would visit acquaintances.

4.3	<i>Amarə</i>	<i>aidi</i>	<i>fadid</i>		.
	amarə	aidi	fad	-id	
	amən	aidi	fad	-id	
	we.ACCDAT	New Year's gift	give.pst	3pl.	
	pers	n	Pst.ind	v:SubAgr	
	we.accdat	New Year's gift	give.pst		
	pers	n	Impf		

They would give us New year's gifts.

4.4	<i>Mi</i>	<i>mar</i>	<i>aməri</i>	<i>aidə</i>		<i>šab</i>	<i>halva</i>
	mi	mar	aməri	aid	-ə	šab	halva
	mən	mar	amən	aid	-ə ₇	šab	halva
	I.GEN	mother	we.ACCDAT	New Year	gen	eve	halva
	pers	n	pers	n	n:(Case)	n	n
	I.gen	mother	we.accdat	New Year		night	halva
	pers	n	persaccdat	n		n	n

<i>o</i>	<i>laku</i>	<i>čegadi</i>	.
o	laku	čegad	-i
o ₁	laku	čegad	-i ₁
and	laku	prepare.pst	3sg.impf
coordconn	n	Pst.ind	Impf:SubAgr

and laku prepare.pst
coordconn n Impf

On New Years eve, my mother would prepare us *halva* and *laku*.

4.5	<i>Ta</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>röz</i>	<i>az</i>	<i>aid</i>	<i>arəura</i>
	ta	se	röz	az	aid	arəura
	ta ₂	se	röz	az	aid	arəore+FR. VAR. OF
	until	three	day	from	New Year	here and there
	prep	cardnum	n	prep	n	adv
	until	three	day	from	New Year	here and there
	prep	cardnum	n	prep	n	adv

<i>je</i>	<i>ameri</i>	<i>adam</i>	<i>ami</i>	.
je	ameri	adam	am	-i
je+FR. VAR. OF	amən	adam	am ₂	-i ₁
from	we.ACCDAT	guest	come.pst	3sg.impf
postp	pers	n	Pst.ind	Impf:SubAgr

from we.accdat guest come.pst
postp persaccdat n Impf

For three days after New year, guests would come to us from here and there.

4.6	<i>Ami</i>	<i>jan</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>eškafiti</i>	<i>ašani</i>
	ami	jan	di	eškafit	-i
	amən	jan	di ₁	eškafit	-i ₁
	we.GEN	body	quite	break.pst	3sg.impf
	pers	n	adv	Pst.ind	Impf:SubAgr
	we.gen	body	quite	break.pst	they.accdat
	pers	n	adv	Impf	persaccdat

<i>palaxorušt</i>	<i>čegadim</i>	.
palaxorušt	čegad	-im
palaxorušt	čegad	-im
rice and stew	prepare.pst	1pl
n	Pst.ind	v:SubAgr

rice and stew prepare.pst
n Impf

We were quiet dead on our feet for preparing rice and stew.

4.7	<i>Čan</i>	<i>röz</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>az</i>	<i>aid</i>	<i>ši</i>	,
	čan	röz	ki	az	aid	šo -i	
	čan	röz	ki	az	aid	šo -i ₁	
	a few	day	when	from	New Year	go.pst 3sg.impf	
	quant	n	advlizer	prep	n	Pst.ind Impf:SubAgr	
	a few	day	when	from	New Year	go.pst	
	quant	n	advlizer	prep	n	Impf	
	<i>mi</i>	<i>mar</i>	<i>ami</i>	<i>dasa</i>	<i>gifti</i>		
	mi	mar	ami	das -a	gift -i		
	mən	mar	amən	das -a ₁	gift -i ₁		
	I.GEN	mother	we.GEN	hand acc-dat	take.pst 3sg.impf		
	pers	n	pers	n n:(Case)	Pst.ind Impf:SubAgr		
	I.gen	mother	we.gen	hand	take.pst		
	pers	n	pers	n	Impf		
	<i>amarə</i>	<i>bordi</i>		<i>Rašt</i>	.		
	amarə	bord -i		Rašt			
	amən	bord -i ₁		Rašt			
	we.ACCDAT	take.pst 3sg.impf		Rašt			
	pers	Pst.ind Impf:SubAgr		nprop			
	we.accdat	take.pst		Rašt			
	pers	Impf		nprop			

Several days after New Year, my mother would take our hand and take us to Rašt.

4.8	<i>Rašt</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>zamat</i>	<i>alana</i>
	Rašt	u	zamat	alan -a
	Rašt	u ₁	zamat	alan -a ₁
	Rašt	that	time	now acc-dat
	nprop	dem	n	n n:(Case)
	Rašt	that	time	now
	nprop	dem	n	n
	<i>namanesti</i>			
	na-	manest	-i	
	nə-+FR. VAR. OF	manest	-i ₁	
	not	resemble.pst 3sg.impf		
	v:Any	Pst.ind Impf:SubAgr		
	resemble.pst			
	Impf			

At that time, Rašt was not like now.

4.9	<i>Šon</i>		<i>ta</i>	<i>oyə</i>	<i>xaili</i>	<i>saxt</i>
	šo	-on	ta	oyə	xaili	saxt
	šo	-ən+FR. VAR. OF	ta ₂	oyə	xaili	saxt
	go.pst inf		until	there	very	difficult
	Pst.ind	Inf:SubAgr	prep	adv	adv	adj
	go.pst		until	there	very	difficult
	Pst.ind		prep	adv	adv	adj

<i>bu0</i>		,	<i>ba</i>	<i>asp</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>γatil</i>	<i>vasi</i>
bu	-0		ba	asp	o	γatil	vasi
bu	-0 ₁		ba	asp	o ₁	γatil	vasi
be.pst	3sg.pst		with	horse	and	mule	have to
Pst.ind	Pst.ind:SubAgr		prep	n	coordconn	n	Mod
be.pst			with	horse	and	mule	have to
Pst.ind			prep	n	coordconn	n	vt

<i>bišəbim</i>			<i>ta</i>	<i>oyə</i>	.
bi-	š	-əb	-im	ta	oyə
bə-	šo	-əvo+FR. VAR. OF	-im	ta ₂	oyə
pst	go.pst	pstpluprf	1pl	until	there
v:Pst	Pst.ind	Pst.ind:PstPluprf	v:SubAgr	prep	adv
go.pst			until	there	
Pluprf			prepf	adv	

It was very difficult to go there, we had to go there by horse and mule.

4.10	<i>Aval</i>	<i>šim</i>	<i>ami</i>	<i>xala</i>	<i>xano</i>	,
	aval	šo	-im	ami	xala	xano
	aval	šo	-im	amən	xala	xanə+FR. VAR. OF
	first	go.pst	1pl	we.GEN	maternal aunt	home
	adv	Pst.ind	v:SubAgr	pers	n	n
	first	go.pst	we.gen	maternal aunt	home	
	adv	Impf	pers	n	n	

<i>do</i>	<i>röz</i>	<i>ašanə</i>	<i>xano</i>	<i>isim</i>	.
do	röz	ašanə	xano	is	-im
do	röz	ašan	xanə+FR. VAR. OF	is	-im
two	day	they.GEN	home	stay.pst	1pl
cardnum	n	pers	n	Pst.ind	v:SubAgr
two	day	they.gen	home	stay.pst	
cardnum	n	pers	n	Impf	

First, we would go to the house of our maternal aunt (and) stay at their home for two days.

4.11	<i>Do</i>	<i>röz</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>šim</i>		<i>ami</i>	<i>pillə</i>
	do	röz	am	šo	-im	ami	pillə
	do	röz	am ₁	šo	-im	amən	pillə
	two	day	also	go.pst	1pl	we.GEN	old
	cardnum	n	coordconn	Pst.ind	v:SubAgr	pers	adj
	two	day	also	go.pst		we.gen	old
	cardnum	n	coordconn	Impf		pers	adj

dayi *xano* .
 dayi xano
 dayi xanə+FR. VAR. OF
 maternal uncle home
 n n

maternal uncle home
 n n

We would also go at our old maternal uncle's for two days.

4.12	<i>Ami</i>	<i>dayi</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ayam</i>	<i>tazu</i>	<i>radiyo</i>
	ami	dayi	u	ayam	tazu	radiyo
	amən	dayi	u ₁	ayam	tazu	radiyo
	we.GEN	maternal uncle	that	time	just	radio
	pers	n	dem	n	adv	n
	we.gen	maternal uncle	that	time	just	radio
	pers	n	dem	n	adj	n

bihevud .
 bi- h -ev -ud
 bə- hə -əvo -id+FR. VAR. OF
 pst buy.pst pstpluprf 3pl..IRR.INFL
 v:Pst Pst.ind Pst.ind:PstPluprf v:SubAgr

buy.pst
 Pluprf

In those days, at our maternal uncle's, they had bought a new radio.

4.13	<i>Marə</i>	<i>jaxtara</i>	<i>nušə</i>			
	marə	jaxtara	nu-	š	-ə	
	mən	jaxtara	nə-+FR. VAR. OF	šo	-e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF	
	I.ACCDAT	forgotten	not	go.prs	3sg.ind	
	pers	adj	v:Any	Prs.ind	Prs.ind:SubAgr	
	I.accdat	forgotten	not.go.prs			
	pers	adj	Prs.ind			

<i>ami</i>	<i>dayzakana</i>	<i>mijə</i>	<i>bišim</i>
ami	dayzak -an -a	mijə	bi- šo -im
amən	dayza -an -a ₁	mijə	bə- šo -im
we.GEN	cousin pl acc-dat	with	pst go.pst 1pl
pers	n n:(Pl) n:(Case)	postp	v:Pst Pst.ind v:SubAgr
we.gen	cousin	with	go.pst
pers	n	postp	Pst.ind

maalegardi .
maalegardi
maalegardi
sightseeing
adv

sightseeing
adv

I do not forget that we went sightseeing with our cousins.

4.14	<i>Šahrə</i>	<i>ǰayelan</i>	<i>ǰašangə</i>	<i>libas</i>	<i>dogudid</i>	.
	šahr -ə	ǰayelan	ǰašang -ə	libas	dogud -id	
	šahr -ə ₇	ǰayelan	ǰašang -ə ₆	libas	dogud -id	
	city gen	guy	pretty attr	clothes	wear.pst 3pl.	
	n n:(Case)	n	adj adj:Any	n	Pst.ind v:SubAgr	
	city	guy	pretty	clothes	wear.pst	
	n	n	adj	n	Pst.ind	

City guys were wearing beautiful dresses.

4.15	<i>Ašanə</i>	<i>zanakan</i>	<i>gula</i>	<i>manestid</i>	.
	ašanə	zanak -an	gul -a	manest -id	
	ašan	zanai -an	gul -a ₁	manest -id	
	they.GEN	woman pl	flower acc-dat	resemble.pst 3pl.	
	pers	n n:(Pl)	n n:(Case)	Pst.ind v:SubAgr	
	they.gen	woman	flower	resemble.pst	
	pers	n	n	Pst.ind	

Their women were like flowers.

4.16	<i>Hame</i>	<i>ǰayə</i>	<i>fanderestim</i>	.
	hame	ǰa -yə	fanderest	-im
	hame	ǰa -a ₁ +FR. VAR. OF	fandərest+FR. VAR. OF	-im
	all	spot acc-dat	look at	1pl
	adj	n n:(Case)	Pst.ind	v:SubAgr
	all	spot	look at	
	quant	n	Pst.ind	

We visited all (sightseeing) spots.

4.17	<i>I</i>	<i>tə</i>	<i>var</i>	=	<i>am</i>	<i>ǰayelana</i>
	i	tə	var		am	ǰayelan -a
	i	ta ₁ +DIAL. VAR. OF	var		am ₁	ǰayelan -ə ₇ +FR. VAR. OF
	one	clf	time		also	guy gen
	cardnum	nclf	n		coordconn	n:(Case)

one	clf	time	also	guy.n
cardnum	clf	n	coordconn	n

<i>mijə</i>	<i>bišim</i>	<i>palaxuri</i>	:	<i>či</i>	<i>kaifi</i>
mijə	bi- šo -im	palaxuri		či	kaifi
mijə	bə- šo -im	palaxuri		či	kaifi
with	pst go.pst 1pl	eating out		what	pleasure
postp	v:Pst Pst.ind v:SubAgr	adv		excl	n

with	go.pst	eating out	what	pleasure
postp	Pst.ind	adv	adj	n

<i>amarə</i>	<i>badi0</i>		!
amarə	ba-	di	-0
amən	bə-+FR. VAR. OF	di ₂	-0 ₁
we.ACCDAT	pst	give.pst 3sg.pst	
pers	v:Pst	Pst.ind Pst.ind:SubAgr	

we.accdat	give.pst
pers	Pst.ind

Once we also went to a restaurant with the guys: what a pleasure!

4.18	<i>Bad az</i>	<i>čan</i>	<i>ruz</i>	<i>dovaro</i>	<i>vasi</i>
	bad az	čan	ruz	dovaro	vasi
	bad az	čan	ruz	dovarə+FR. VAR. OF	vasi
	after	a few	day	again	have to
	prep	quant	n	adv	Mod

after	a few	day	again	have to
prep	quant	n	adv	Mod

<i>vagerdestavim</i>			<i>ami</i>	<i>dahat</i>	:
vagerdest	-av	-im	ami	dahat	
vagardest+FR. VAR. OF	-əvi+FR. VAR. OF	-im	amən	dahat	
return.pst	pstsbj	1pl	we.GEN	village	
Pst.ind	Pst.sbj:Pst.sbj	v:SubAgr	pers	n	

return.pst	we.gen	village
Pst.ind	pers	n

<i>marə</i>	<i>ɣama</i>		<i>gifti</i>		.
marə	ɣam	-a	gift	-i	
mən	ɣam	-a ₁	gift	-i ₁	
I.ACCDAT	sadness	acc-dat	take.pst	3sg.impf	
pers	n	n:(Case)	Pst.ind	Impf:SubAgr	

I.accdat	sadness	take.pst
pers	n	Impf

After several days, we had to return to our village: I was so sad!

Text 5: [Xando “Laugh”]

5.1 *Donya do zar niyarzə* .

donya	do	zar	ni-	yarz	-ə
donya	do	zar	nə-	arz	-e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF
world	two	penny	not	to be worth	3sg.ind
n	cardnum	n	v:Any	Prs.ind	Prs.ind:SubAgr

world	two	penny	to be worth.prs
n	cardnum	n	Prs.ind

The world is not worth two pennies.

5.2 *Hasə karə hana fikra*

hasə	karə	hana	fikr	-a
hasə	karə	hana	fikr	-a ₁
now	cont.part	just this.accdat	thought	acc-dat
adv	adv	dem	n	n:(Case)
now	cont.part	just this.accdat	thought	
adv	adv	dem	n	

kudandavəm .

kud	-andav-	-əm
kud	-əndovv-	+FR. VAR. OF -əm
do.pst	pst.cnt	1sg
Pst.ind	Pst.ind:PstCnt	v:SubAgr

do.pst
Pst.ind

Now I was making just this thought .

5.3	<i>Hato</i>	<i>vasi</i>	<i>jan</i>	<i>badaxim</i>			<i>axar</i>
	hato	vasi	jan	ba-	dax	-im	axar
	hato	vasi	jan	bə-+FR. VAR. OF	dax	-im	axar
	so	have to	body	sbjv	give.prs	1pl	finally
	adv	Mod	n	v:Sbjv	Prs.ind	v:SubAgr	adv
	so	have to	body	give.prs			finally
	adv	Mod	n	Prs.sbjv			adv

<i>am</i>	<i>hiči</i>	!
am	hiči	
am ₁	hičči+FR. VAR. OF	
also	nothing	
coordconn	indfpro	

also nothing
coordconn indfpro

We must suffer in this way (and) also finally nothing (remains)!

5.4	<i>Čan</i>	<i>sal</i>	=	<i>ə</i>	<i>piš</i>	–	<i>tarə</i>	<i>yad</i>
	čan	sal	=ə	piš	tarə		yad	
	čan	sal	=ə ₁	piš	to		yad	
	a few	year	=ezf	ago	you.ACCDAT		memory	
	quant	n	nomprt	adv	persnom		n	
	a few	year	ezf	before	you.accdat		memory	
	quant	n	nomprt	adv	pers		n	

<i>nayə</i>			–	<i>ti</i>	<i>amu</i>
n- ay -ə				ti	amu
nə- ay -e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF				to	amu
not come.prs 3sg.ind				you.GEN	paternal uncle
v:Any Prs.ind Prs.ind:SubAgr				persnom	n
come.prs				you.gen	paternal uncle
Prs.ind				pers	n

<i>say</i>	<i>bu0</i>	:	<i>šiš</i>	<i>nafara</i>	<i>harif</i>
say bu -0			šiš	nafar -a	harif
say bu -0 ₁			šiš	nafar -a ₁	harif
healthy be.pst 3sg.pst			six	person acc-dat	rival
adj Pst.ind Pst.ind:SubAgr			cardnum	n n:(Case)	n
healthy be.pst			six	person	rival
adj Pst.ind			cardnum	n	n

bu0 .
 bu -0
 bu -0₁
 be.pst 3sg.pst
 Pst.ind Pst.ind:SubAgr

be.pst
 Pst.ind

Several years ago – you do not remember – your paternal uncle was healthy: he could beat six persons.

5.5 *I tə šab buxoftə* ,
 i tə šab bu- xoft -ə
 i ta₁+DIAL. VAR. OF šab bə- xoft -ə₃
 one clf night pst fall asleep.pst 3sg.pstprf
 cardnum nclf n v:Pst Pst.ind Pst.ind:SubAgr
 one clf night fall asleep.pst
 cardnum clf n Pst.ind

di sob vinrišt0 .
 di sob vinrišt -0
 di₁ sob vinrišt -0₁
 more morning wake up.neg.pst 3sg.pst
 adv n Pst.ind Pst.ind:SubAgr

more morning wake up.neg.pst
 adv n Pst.ind

One night he fell asleep (and) he did not wake up in the morning anymore.

5.6 *Zindigi i tə nafas o* ,
 zindigi i tə nafas o
 zindigi i ta₁+DIAL. VAR. OF nafas ə₂+FR. VAR. OF
 life one clf breath be.3sg.prs
 n cardnum nclf n Prs.ind
 life one clf breath be.3sg.prs
 n cardnum clf n Prs.ind

šu bijir di bujur
 šo -u bijir di bujur
 šo -e+FR. VAR. OF bijir di₁ bujur
 go.prs 3sg.ind down more up
 Prs.ind Prs.ind:SubAgr adv adv adv
 go.prs down more up
 Prs.ind adv adv adv

nayə

n- ay -ə
 nə- ay -e^{+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF}
 not come.prs 3sg.ind
 v:Any Prs.ind Prs.ind:SubAgr

come.prs

Prs.ind

Life is a breath, it goes down and it does not come up anymore.

5.7

Ami

dila

xuša

ami	dil	-a	xuš	-a
amən	dil	-a ₁	XOŠ ^{+FR. VAR. OF}	-a ₄
we.GEN	heart	acc-dat	pleased	objcomp
pers	n	n:(Case)	adj	n:Any
we.gen	heart		pleased	
pers	n		adj	

godim

be

ami

god	-im	be	ami
kud ^{+FR. VAR. OF}	-im	bə ^{+FR. VAR. OF}	amən
do.pst	lpl	in	we.GEN
Pst.ind	v:SubAgr	prep	pers
do.pst		in	we.gen
Pst.ind		prep	pers

malomanal

,

bextar

an

a

ki

malomanal	bextar	an	ə	ki
malomanal	bextar	an ₁	ə ₂	ki
money and property	better	this	be.3sg.prs	that
n	adj	dem	Prs.ind	advlizer
money and property	better	this	be.3sg.prs	that
n	adj	dem	Prs.ind	subordconn

ami

dil

hato

xuš

ami	dil	hato	xuš
amən	dil	hato	XOŠ ^{+FR. VAR. OF}
we.GEN	heart	so	pleased
pers	n	adv	adj
we.gen	heart	so	pleased
pers	n	adv	adj

bamanə

ba-	man	-ə
bə-+FR. VAR. OF	man	-e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF
sbjv	remain.prs	3sg.ind
v:Sbjv	Prs.ind	Prs.ind:SubAgr

remain.prs

Prs.ind

We gave our heart to our money and property, (and) it would be better to be happy with this.

5.8

Maštə

maštə
mašti+FR. VAR. OF
mashti
adj

mashti
adj

Amad

Amad
Amad
Ahmad
nprop

Ahmad
nprop

tarə

tarə
to
you.ACCDAT
persnom

you.accdat
pers

yad

yad
yad
memory
n

memory
n

ayə

ay	-ə
ay	-e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF
come.prs	3sg.ind
Prs.ind	Prs.ind:SubAgr

come.prs

Prs.ind

,

xuda

xuda
xuda
God
n

God
n

ana

ana
an ₂
he.ACCDAT
pers

he.accdat
pers

biyamarzə

?

bi-	amarz	-ə
bə-	amarz	-ə ₁
sbjv	forgive.prs	3sg.sbjv
v:Sbjv	Prs.ind	Sbjv:SubAgr

forgive.prs

Prs.sbjv

Do you remember Mr [Mašti] Ahmad, may God forgive him?

5.9 *Dayam*

anə

gazə

laxo

vaz

bu0

dayam	anə	gaz	-ə	laxo	vaz	bu	-0
dayam	an ₂	gaz	-ə ₇	laxo	vaz	bu	-0 ₁
always	he.GEN	tooth	gen	opening	open	be.pst	3sg.pst
adv	pers	n	n:(Case)	n	adj	Pst.ind	Pst.ind:SubAgr

always	he.gen	tooth	opening	open	be.pst
adv	pers	n	n	adj	Pst.ind

,	<i>mardom</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>kosxul</i>	<i>danestid</i>	.
	mardom	ana	kosxul	danest	-id
	mardom	an ₂	kosxul	danest	-id
	people	he.ACCDAT	crackpot	consider.pst	3pl.
	n	pers	n	Pst.ind	v:SubAgr
	people	he.accdat	crackpot	consider.pst	
	n	pers	n	Impf	
He would always chuckle, the people would consider him a crackpot.					

5.10	<i>I</i>	<i>var</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>vaversəm</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>čarə</i>
	i	var	ana	vavers -əm	ke	čarə
	i	var	an ₂	vaversi -əm	ki+FR. VAR. OF	čarə
	one	time	he.ACCDAT	ask.pst 1sg	that	why
	cardnum	n	pers	Pst.ind v:SubAgr	advlizer	adv
	one	time	he.accdat	ask.pst	that	why
	cardnum	n	pers	Pst.ind	advlizer	adv

<i>hato</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>gazə</i>	<i>laxo</i>	<i>vaz</i>	<i>ə</i>	,
hato	ti	gaz -ə	laxo	vaz	ə	
hato	to	gaz -ə ₇	laxo	vaz	ə ₂	
so	you.GEN	tooth gen	opening	open	be.3sg.prs	
adv	persnom	n n:(Case)	n	adj	Prs.ind	
so	you.gen	tooth	opening	open	be.3sg.prs	
adv	pers	n	n	adj	Prs.ind	

<i>teri</i>	<i>aib</i>	<i>u</i>	.
teri	aib	u	
to	aib	ə ₂ +FR. VAR. OF	
you.ACCDAT	fault	be.3sg.prs	
persnom	n	Prs.ind	
you.accdat	fault	be.3sg.prs	
persaccdat	n	Prs.ind	

Once I asked him: “Why do you chuckle so? It is a fault [on your side].

5.11	<i>Xuri</i>	<i>ništavə</i>	<i>gifto</i>	,	<i>ta in ke</i>
	xuri	n- ištavə	gift -o		ta in ke
	xuri	nə- ištavə	gift -ə ₈ +FR. VAR. OF		ta in ke
	oneself.sg.accdat	not hearing	take.pst 3sg.prsprf		till
	refl	adj:Any adj	Pst.ind Pst.ind:SubAgr		advlizer
	oneself.sg.accdat	hearing	take.pst		till
	refl	adj	Pst.ind		advlizer

<i>i</i>	<i>var</i>	<i>hato</i>	<i>xandu</i>	<i>daškani0</i>		<i>, marə</i>
i	var	hato	xandu	daškani -0		marə
i	var	hato	xandu	daškani -0 ₁		mən
one	time	so	laugh	burst.pst	3sg.pst	I.ACCDAT
cardnum	n	adv	n	Pst.ind	Pst.ind:SubAgr	pers
one	time	so	laugh	burst.pst		I.accdat
cardnum	n	adv	n	Pst.ind		pers

<i>vagardast0</i>						<i>ə</i>
vagardast		-0				ə
vagardest+FR. VAR. OF		-0 ₁				O ₁ +FR. VAR. OF
turn.pst		3sg.pst				and
Pst.ind		Pst.ind:SubAgr				coordconn
turn.pst						and
Pst.ind						coordconn

<i>bugoft0</i>			=	<i>ə</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>i</i>
bu- goft		-0		=ə	to	i
bə- guft+FR. VAR. OF		-0 ₁		=ə ₂	to	i
pst say.pst		3sg.pst		=quot	you	one
v:Pst Pst.ind		Pst.ind:SubAgr		quot	persnom	cardnum
say.pst				quot	you.nom	one
Pst.ind				quot	pers	cardnum

<i>tə</i>		<i>kar</i>	<i>bextar</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>xandu</i>
tə		kar	bextar	ji	xandu
ta ₁ +DIAL. VAR. OF		kar	bextar	jiə+FR. VAR. OF	xandu
clf		activity	better	than	laugh
nclf		n	adj	prep	n
clf		activity	better	than	laugh
clf		n	adj	prep	n

<i>dari</i>		<i>marə</i>	<i>bugo0</i>		
dar -i		marə	bu- go -0		
dar -i ₃		mən	bə- go -0 ₃		
have.prs	2sg	I.ACCDAT	imp say.prs	2sg.imp	
Prs.ind	v:SubAgr	pers	Imp:Imp Prs.ind	Imp:SubAgr	
have.prs		I.accdat	say.prs		
Prs.ind		pers	Imp		

He pretended not to hear (me), till that he suddenly burst into a laugh, he turned to me (and) said: “If you have something better than laughing, tell me!”.

Sketch of Gilaki grammar

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1 Introduction

Gilaki is a language spoken in Gilan. This paper gives a preliminary sketch of Gilaki morphology following a basic item-and-arrangement model. The sketch covers the following topics:

- Phonemes in section [2](#).
- Morpheme types in section [3](#).

- Word categories in section [4](#).
- Inflection in section [5](#).
- Derivation in section [6](#).
- Clitics in section [7](#).
- Compounding in section [8](#).
- Morpho-syntactic feature system in section [9](#).
- Allomorphy in section [10](#).
- Natural classes in section [11](#).
- Residue in section [12](#).

There also are two appendices. The first, Appendix [A](#), lists morphemes arranged by morpheme type. The second, Appendix [B](#), lists morphemes arranged by lexical category.

2 Phonemes

Gilaki has 28 phonemes as shown in the following table (the first column shows the orthographic representations):

Representation	Description
a	low central unrounded vowel
b	voiced bilabial stop
č	voiceless palatal affricate
d	voiced alveolar stop
e	mid front unrounded vowel
ə	mid central unrounded vowel
f	voiceless labiodental fricative
g	voiced velar stop
h	voiceless glottal fricative
i	high front unrounded vowel
j	voiced palatal affricate
k	voiceless velar stop

l	alveolar lateral
m	bilabial nasal
n	alveolar nasal
o	mid back rounded vowel
p	voiceless bilabial stop
r	alveolar trill
s	voiceless alveolar fricative
ʃ	voiceless palatal fricative
t	voiceless alveolar stop
u	high back rounded vowel
v	voiced labiodental fricative
x	voiceless velar fricative
y	palatal approximante
z	voiced alveolar fricative
ʔ	voiceless glottal stop
ɣ	voiced velar fricative

3 Morpheme types

Words in this analysis of Gilaki are formed from morphemes of 7 types. The following table lists the types along with a count of how many instances are in the lexicon. Appendix [A](#) lists some or all of these.

Count	Name	Description	Appendix
7	enclitic	An enclitic is a clitic that is phonologically joined at the end of a preceding word to form a single unit. Orthographically, it may attach to the preceding word.	A.1
4	infix	An infix is an affix that is inserted within a root or stem.	A.2
11	phrase	A phrase is a syntactic structure that consists of more than one word but lacks the subject-predicate organization of a clause.	A.3
7	prefix	A prefix is an affix that is joined before a root or stem.	A.4
1	root	A root is the portion of a word that (i) is common to a set of derived or inflected forms, if any, when all af-	A.5

		fixes are removed, (ii) is not further analyzable into meaningful elements, being morphologically simple, and, (iii) carries the principle portion of meaning of the words in which it functions.	
296	stem	"A stem is the root or roots of a word, together with any derivational affixes, to which inflectional affixes are added." (LinguaLinks Library). A stem "may consist solely of a single root morpheme (i.e. a 'simple' stem as in man), or of two root morphemes (e.g. a 'compound' stem, as in blackbird), or of a root morpheme plus a derivational affix (i.e. a 'complex' stem, as in manly, unmanly, manliness). All have in common the notion that it is to the stem that inflectional affixes are attached." (Crystal, 1997:362)	A.6
48	suffix	A suffix is an affix that is attached to the end of a root or stem.	A.7

4 Word categories

In this analysis of Gilaki there are 54 syntactic categories for words. The following is a complete list of the categories that are posited (along with a count of how many instances of each are found in the lexicon; some or all of these are in the appendix).

- [Adjective](#) (25)
- [Adposition](#)
- [Adverb](#) (27)
- [Adverbializer](#) (5)
- [Cardinal numeral](#) (5)
- [Classifier](#)
- [Compound verb](#)
- [Connective](#)
- [Coordinating connective](#) (2)
- [Demonstrative](#) (4)
- [Exclamatory pronoun](#) (1)
- [Imperative](#)

- [Imperfect](#)
- [Indefinite article](#) (1)
- [Indefinite pronoun](#) (1)
- [Infinitive](#)
- [Interjection](#) (2)
- [Modal verb](#) (1)
- [Nominal particle](#) (2)
- [Noun](#) (93)
- [Noun classifier](#) (1)
- [Numeral](#)
- [Ordinal numeral](#)
- [Participle](#)
- [Past indicative](#) (46)
- [Past participle](#)
- [Past subjunctive](#)
- [PastContinuous](#)
- [Perfect](#)
- [Personal pronoun](#) (5)
- [Personal pronoun accusative-dative](#)
- [Personal pronoun genitive](#)
- [Personal pronoun nominative](#) (1)
- [Phrasal verb](#) (1)
- [Pluperfect](#)
- [Possessive pronoun](#)
- [Postposition](#) (8)
- [Preposition](#) (6)
- [Present indicative](#) (14)
- [Present subjunctive](#)
- [Pro-adverb](#)
- [Pro-form](#)

- [Pronoun](#)
- [Proper Noun](#) (6)
- [Quantifier](#) (1)
- [Quotative](#) (1)
- [Reflexive pronoun](#) (2)
- [Subordinating connective](#)
- [Transitive verb](#)
- [V:Pst](#)
- [V:Sbjv](#)
- [V:SubAgr](#)
- [Verb](#)
- [Verbal particle](#)

The categories are defined as follows (the category's abbreviation is shown within square brackets):

4.1 Adjective [adj]

An adjective is a part of speech whose members modify nouns. An adjective specifies the attributes of a noun referent. Note: this is one case among many. Adjectives are a class of modifiers.

The Adjective category has 1 inflection class: [***](#).

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.1](#).)

4.2 Adposition [adp]

An adposition is a part of speech whose members are of a closed set and occur before or after a complement composed of a noun phrase, noun, pronoun, or clause that functions as a noun phrase and forms a single structure with the complement to express its grammatical and semantic relation to another unit within a clause.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.2](#).)

4.3 Adverb [adv]

An adverb, narrowly defined, is a part of speech whose members modify verbs for such categories as time, manner, place, or direction. An adverb, broadly defined, is a part of speech whose members modify any constituent class of words other than nouns, such as verbs, adjectives, adverbs, phrases, clauses, or sentences. Under this definition, the possible type of modification depends on the class of the constituent being modified.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.3.](#))

4.4 Adverbializer [advlizer]

An adverbializer is a subordinating connective that links a subordinate clause to a main clause, and indicates that the subordinate clause has an 'adverbial' or interpropositional relation to the main clause, indicating purpose, condition, time, and location.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.4.](#))

4.5 Cardinal numeral [cardnum]

A cardinal numeral is a numeral of the class whose members are considered basic in form, are used in counting, and are used in expressing how many objects are referred to.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.5.](#))

4.6 Classifier [clf]

A classifier is a part of speech whose members express the classification of a noun.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.6.](#))

4.7 Compound verb [CompV]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.7.](#))

4.8 Connective [conn]

Also known as a conjunction, a connective is a class of parts of speech whose members syntactically link words or larger constituents, and expresses a semantic relationship between them. A conjunction is positionally fixed relative to one or more of the elements related by it, thus distinguishing it from constituents such as English conjunctive adverbs.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.8.](#))

4.9 Coordinating connective [coordconn]

A coordinating connective is a connective that links constituents without syntactically subordinating one to the other.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.9.](#))

4.10 Demonstrative [dem]

A demonstrative is a determiner that is used deictically to indicate a referent's spatial, temporal, or discourse location. A demonstrative functions as a modifier of a noun, or a pronoun.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.10.](#))

4.11 Exclamatory pronoun [excl]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.11.](#))

4.12 Imperative [Imp]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

The Imperative category has 1 inflectional template:

[\(This template has not been given a name yet.\)](#)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.12.](#))

4.13 Imperfect [Impf]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

The Imperfect category has 1 inflectional template:

[\(This template has not been given a name yet.\)](#)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.13.](#))

4.14 Indefinite article [indf]

An indefinite article is a part of speech whose members are used to refer to an entity (or class of entities) which is not capable of specific identification.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.14.](#))

4.15 Indefinite pronoun [indfpro]

An indefinite pronoun is a pronoun that belongs to a class whose members indicate indefinite reference.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.15.](#))

4.16 Infinitive [Inf]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

The Infinitive category has 1 inflectional template:

[\(This template has not been given a name yet.\)](#)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.16.](#))

4.17 Interjection [interj]

An interjection is a part of speech, typically brief in form, such as one syllable or word, whose members are used most often as exclamations or parts of an exclamation. An interjection, typically expressing an emotional reaction, often with respect to an accompanying sentence, is not syntactically related to other accompanying expressions, and may include a combination of sounds not otherwise found in the language.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.17](#).)

4.18 Modal verb [Mod]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.18](#).)

4.19 Nominal particle [nomprt]

A nominal particle is a member of a closed class of particles that co-occur with nouns.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.19](#).)

4.20 Noun [n]

A noun is a broad classification of parts of speech which include substantives and nominals.

The Noun category has 1 inflectional template:

Noun

This template is valid for not only this category, but also its subcategory: [Proper Noun](#).

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.20](#).)

4.21 Noun classifier [nc1f]

A noun classifier is a part of speech whose members express the classification of a noun

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.21.](#))

4.22 Numeral [nom]

A numeral is a part of speech that describes a numerical quantity.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.22.](#))

4.23 Ordinal numeral [ordnum]

An ordinal numeral is a numeral belonging to a class whose members designate positions in a sequence.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.23.](#))

4.24 Participle [ptcp]

A participle refers to non-finite forms of verbs other than infinitive. In some uses it is restricted to those forms that are used as an adjective.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.24.](#))

4.25 Past indicative [Pst.ind]

The past stem of a verb is the basis for the formation of past tenses and some infinitive verbal forms

The Past indicative category has 1 inflectional template:

[\(This template has not been given a name yet.\)](#)

The Past indicative category has 1 inflection class: [\[absten.pst\]](#).

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.25.](#))

4.26 Past participle [Pst.ptcp]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

The Past participle category has 1 inflectional template:

[\(This template has not been given a name yet.\)](#)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.26.](#))

4.27 Past subjunctive [Pst.sb]]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

The Past subjunctive category has 1 inflectional template:

[\(This template has not been given a name yet.\)](#)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.27.](#))

4.28 PastContinuous [PstCnt]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

The PastContinuous category has 1 inflectional template:

[\(This template has not been given a name yet.\)](#)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.28.](#))

4.29 Perfect [Prf]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

The Perfect category has 1 inflectional template:

[\(This template has not been given a name yet.\)](#)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.29.](#))

4.30 Personal pronoun [pers]

A personal pronoun is a pronoun that expresses a distinction of person deixis.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.30.](#))

4.31 Personal pronoun accusative-dative [persaccdat]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.31.](#))

4.32 Personal pronoun genitive [persgen]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.32.](#))

4.33 Personal pronoun nominative [persnom]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.33.](#))

4.34 Phrasal verb [PhrV]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.34.](#))

4.35 Pluperfect [Pluprf]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

The Pluperfect category has 1 inflectional template:

[\(This template has not been given a name yet.\)](#)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.35.](#))

4.36 Possessive pronoun [poss]

A possessive pronoun is a pronoun that expresses ownership and relationships like ownership, such as kinship, and other forms of association.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.36.](#))

4.37 Postposition [postp]

A postposition is an adposition that occurs after its complement.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.37](#).)

4.38 Preposition [prep]

A preposition is an adposition that occurs before its complement.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.38](#).)

4.39 Present indicative [Prs.ind]

The present stem of a verb is the basis for the formation of present tenses

The Present indicative category has 1 inflectional template:

[\(This template has not been given a name yet.\)](#)

The Present indicative category has 1 inflection class: [\[absten.prs\]](#).

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.39](#).)

4.40 Present subjunctive [Prs.sbjv]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

The Present subjunctive category has 1 inflectional template:

[\(This template has not been given a name yet.\)](#)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.40](#).)

4.41 Pro-adverb [pro-adv]

A pro-adverb is a pro-form that substitutes for an adverb or other expression having an adverbial function.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.41](#).)

4.42 Pro-form [pro-form]

A pro-form is a part of speech whose members usually substitute for other constituents, including phrases, clauses, or sentences, and whose meaning is recoverable from the linguistic or extralinguistic context.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.42.](#))

4.43 Pronoun [pro]

A pronoun is a pro-form which functions like a noun and substitutes for a noun or noun phrase.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.43.](#))

4.44 Proper Noun [nprop]

Proper noun, also referred to as proper names, is the class of nouns that are used to address particular persons or culturally significant personages or places. They refer to specific entities and are not usually with articles, modifiers, or possessors.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.44.](#))

4.45 Quantifier [quant]

A quantifier is a determiner that expresses a referent's definite or indefinite number or amount. A quantifier functions as a modifier of a noun, or a pronoun.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.45.](#))

4.46 Quotative [quot]

Introduces direct speech.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.46.](#))

4.47 Reflexive pronoun [refl]

A reflexive pronoun is a pronoun that has coreference with the subject.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.47](#).)

4.48 Subordinating connective [subordconn]

A subordinating connective is a connective that links constructions by making one of them a constituent of another. The subordinating conjunction typically marks the incorporated constituent.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.48](#).)

4.49 Transitive verb [vt]

A transitive verb is a verb that takes a direct object, and describes a relation between two participants.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.49](#).)

4.50 V:Pst [V:Pst]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.50](#).)

4.51 V:Sbjv [Sbjv]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

The V:Sbjv category has 1 inflectional template:

[\(This template has not been given a name yet.\)](#)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.51](#).)

4.52 V:SubAgr [V:SubAgr]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

The V:SubAgr category has 1 inflectional template:

Simple

The V:SubAgr category has 1 inflection class: ***.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.52](#).)

4.53 Verb [v]

A verb is a part of speech whose members typically signal events and actions; constitute, singly or in a phrase, a minimal predicate in a clause; govern the number and types of other constituents which may occur in the clause; and, in inflectional languages, may be inflected for tense, aspect, voice, modality, or agreement with other constituents in person, number, or grammatical gender.

The Verb category has 1 inflectional template:

(This template has not been given a name yet.)

This template is valid for not only this category, but also all of its subcategories: [Compound verb](#), [Imperative](#), [Imperfect](#), [Infinitive](#), [Modal verb](#), [Past indicative](#), [Past participle](#), [Past subjunctive](#), [PastContinuous](#), [Perfect](#), [Phrasal verb](#), [Pluperfect](#), [Present indicative](#), [Present subjunctive](#), [Transitive verb](#), [V:Pst](#), [V:Sbjv](#), and [V:Sub-Agr](#).

The Verb category has 1 inflectable feature: [absolute tense](#).

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.53](#).)

4.54 Verbal particle [verbprt]

A verbal particle is a member of a closed class of particles which co-occur with some verbs to form phrasal verbs. In some languages, verbal particles are identical to certain adpositions.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.54](#).)

5 Inflection

In this analysis of Gilaki the following word categories are inflected:

Noun ([5.1](#))

Verb ([5.2](#))

In the inflectional templates expressed below, parentheses indicate that a slot is optional.

5.1 Noun inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Noun category and its subcategories.

5.1.1 Noun Templates

The category Noun has the following template.

5.1.1.1 Noun

This inflectional template for Noun has the following slots after the stem.

Stem	(Pl)	(Case)
an 'pl'	a 'acc-dat' ə 'gen'	

5.1.2 Noun Slots and Fillers

The following is a listing of the fillers of the slots involved in Noun inflection.

5.1.2.1 Case

These are the morphemes in the Case slot.

Form	Gloss	Definition	Allomorphy
a	'acc-dat'	The definition is missing. Please add it.	
		Allomorph	Environments
		a	

		ya	/IV/		
ə	'gen'	The definition is missing. Please add it.			

5.1.2.2 PI

These are the morphemes in the PI slot.

Form Gloss Definition

an 'pl' The definition is missing. Please add it.

5.1.3 Proper Noun inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Proper Noun category.

5.1.3.1 Proper Noun Templates

There are no inflectional templates for Proper Noun.

5.1.3.2 Proper Noun Slots and Fillers

The category Proper Noun does not define any slots.

5.2 Verb inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Verb category and its subcategories.

5.2.1 Verb Templates

The category Verb has the following template.

5.2.1.1 (This template has not been given a name yet.)

This inflectional template for Verb has the following slots before and after the stem.

<u>Pst</u>	Stem	<u>SubAgr</u>
		bə 'pst'
	e '3sg.ind'	
	im '1pl'	

i	'3sg.impf'	
ə	'3sg.pstprf'	
i	'3sg.sbj'	
ən	'inf'	
id	'3pl.'	
ə	'3sg.prsprf'	
ə	'ptcp.pst'	
o	'2sg.imp'	
əm	'1sg'	
o	'3sg.pst'	
ə	'3sg.sbjv'	
i	'2sg'	

5.2.2 Verb Slots and Fillers

The following is a listing of the fillers of the slots involved in Verb inflection. These slots are also valid for the templates defined by these subcategories: [Imperative](#), [Imperfect](#), [Infinitive](#), [Past indicative](#), [Past participle](#), [Past subjunctive](#), [Past-Continuous](#), [Perfect](#), [Pluperfect](#), [Present indicative](#), [Present subjunctive](#), [V:Sbjv](#), and [V:SubAgr](#).

5.2.2.1 Imp

These are the morphemes in the Imp slot.

Form	Gloss	Definition		Allomorphy
bə	'imp'	The definition is missing. Please add it.		
		Allomorph	Environments	
		bə		
		&0	/#[C][VowO],/[V]	
		bi	/#[C][Ye]	
		bu	/#[C][VowUorO]	
		bo	/#[C][VowUorO]	
		b	/[V]	
		bi		

5.2.2.2 Pst

These are the morphemes in the Pst slot.

Form	Gloss	Definition		Allomorphy
bə	'pst'	The definition is missing. Please add it.		
		Allomorph	Environments	
		bə		
		&0	/# [C] [VowO], / [V]	
		bi	/# [C] [Ye]	
		bu	/# [C] [VowUorO]	
		bo	/# [C] [VowUorO]	
		b	/ [V]	
		bi		

5.2.2.3 Pst.ptcp

These are the morphemes in the Pst.ptcp slot.

Form	Gloss	Definition		Allomorphy
bə	'pst.ptcp'	The definition is missing. Please add it.		
		Allomorph	Environments	
		bə		
		&0	/# [C] [VowO], / [V]	
		bi	/# [C] [Ye]	
		bu	/# [C] [VowUorO]	
		bo	/# [C] [VowUorO]	
		b	/ [V]	
		bi		

5.2.2.4 Pst.sbj

These are the morphemes in the Pst.sbj slot.

Form	Gloss	Definition		Allomorphy
əvi	'pstsbj'	The definition is missing. Please add it.		
		Allomorph	Environments	
		əvi		

		əv	/[V]		
--	--	----	------	--	--

5.2.2.5 PstCnt

These are the morphemes in the PstCnt slot.

Form	Gloss	Definition		Allomorphy
əndovu	'pst.cnt'	The definition is missing. Please add it.		
		Allomorph	Environments	
		əndovu		
		əndov	/[V]	

5.2.2.6 PstPluprf

These are the morphemes in the PstPluprf slot.

Form	Gloss	Definition		Allomorphy
əvo	'pstpluprf'	The definition is missing. Please add it.		
		Allomorph	Environments	
		əvo		
		əv	/[V]	
		ev		

5.2.2.7 PstPrf

These are the morphemes in the PstPrf slot.

Form	Gloss	Definition
ə	'pstprf'	The definition is missing. Please add it.

5.2.2.8 Sbjv

These are the morphemes in the Sbjv slot.

Form	Gloss	Definition		Allomorphy
bə	'sbjv'	The definition is missing. Please add it.		
		Allomorph	Environments	
		bə		
		&0	/# [C] [VowO], /[V]	
		bi	/# [C] [Ye]	
		bu	/# [C] [VowUorO]	

		bo	/# [C] [VowUorO]		
		b	/[V]		
		bi			

5.2.2.9 SubAgr

These are the morphemes in the SubAgr slot.

Form	Gloss	Definition	Allomorphy
e	'3sg.ind'	The definition is missing. Please add it.	
im	'1pl'	The definition is missing. Please add it.	
		Allomorph	Environments
		im	
		yim	/[VMinusYe]
		***	/[Ye] , /[He]
i	'3sg.impf'	The definition is missing. Please add it.	
ə	'3sg.pstprf'	The definition is missing. Please add it.	
i	'3sg.sbj'	The definition is missing. Please add it.	
ən	'inf'	The definition is missing. Please add it.	
id	'3pl.'	The definition is missing. Please add it.	
ə	'3sg.prsprf'	The definition is missing. Please add it.	
ə	'ptcp.pst'	The definition is missing. Please add it.	
o	'2sg.imp'	The definition is missing. Please add it.	
əm	'1sg'	The definition is missing. Please add it.	
o	'3sg.pst'	The definition is missing. Please add it.	
ə	'3sg.sbjv'	The definition is missing. Please add it.	
i	'2sg'	The definition is missing. Please add it.	

5.2.3 Imperative inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Imperative category and its subcategories.

5.2.3.1 Imperative Templates

The category Imperative has the following template.

5.2.3.1.1 (This template has not been given a name yet.)

This inflectional template for Imperative has the following slots before and after the stem.

<u>Imp</u>	Stem	<u>SubAgr</u> bə 'imp'
	e '3sg.ind'	
	im '1pl'	
	i '3sg.impf'	
	ə '3sg.pstprf'	
	i '3sg.sbj'	
	ən 'inf'	
	id '3pl.'	
	ə '3sg.prsprf'	
	ə 'ptcp.pst'	
	0 '2sg.imp'	
	əm '1sg'	
	0 '3sg.pst'	
	ə '3sg.sbjv'	
	i '2sg'	

5.2.3.2 Imperative Slots and Fillers

The category Imperative does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: [Imp](#), [Pst](#), [Pst.ptcp](#), [Pst.sbj](#), [PstCnt](#), [PstPluprf](#), [PstPrf](#), [Sbjv](#), and [SubAgr](#).

5.2.4 Perfect inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Perfect category and its subcategories.

5.2.4.1 Perfect Templates

The category Perfect has the following template.

5.2.4.1.1 (This template has not been given a name yet.)

This inflectional template for Perfect has the following slots before and after the stem.

<u>Pst</u>	Stem	<u>PstPrf</u>	<u>SubAgr</u> bə 'pst'
	ə 'pstprf'	e '3sg.ind' im '1pl' i '3sg.impf' ə '3sg.pstprf' i '3sg.sbj' ən 'inf' id '3pl.' ə '3sg.prspfrf' ə 'ptcp.pst' o '2sg.impf' əm '1sg' o '3sg.pst' ə '3sg.sbjv' i '2sg'	

5.2.4.2 Perfect Slots and Fillers

The category Perfect does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: [Imp](#), [Pst](#), [Pst.ptcp](#), [Pst.sbj](#), [PstCnt](#), [PstPluprf](#), [PstPrf](#), [Sbjv](#), and [SubAgr](#).

5.2.5 Modal verb inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Modal verb category.

5.2.5.1 Modal verb Templates

There are no inflectional templates for Modal verb.

5.2.5.2 Modal verb Slots and Fillers

The category Modal verb does not define any slots.

5.2.6 Pluperfect inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Pluperfect category and its subcategories.

5.2.6.1 Pluperfect Templates

The category Pluperfect has the following template.

5.2.6.1.1 (*This template has not been given a name yet.*)

This inflectional template for Pluperfect has the following slots before and after the stem.

<u>Pst</u>	Stem	<u>PstPluprf</u>	<u>SubAgr</u> bə 'pst'
	əvo 'pstpluprf'	e '3sg.ind' im '1pl' i '3sg.impf' ə '3sg.pstprf' i '3sg.sbj' ən 'inf' id '3pl.' ə '3sg.prspfrf' ə 'ptcp.pst' o '2sg.impf' əm '1sg' o '3sg.pst' ə '3sg.sbjv' i '2sg'	

5.2.6.2 Pluperfect Slots and Fillers

The category Pluperfect does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: [Imp](#), [Pst](#), [Pst.ptcp](#), [Pst.sbj](#), [PstCnt](#), [PstPluprf](#), [PstPrf](#), [Sbjv](#), and [SubAgr](#).

5.2.7 Infinitive inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Infinitive category and its subcategories.

5.2.7.1 Infinitive Templates

The category Infinitive has the following template.

5.2.7.1.1 (*This template has not been given a name yet.*)

This inflectional template for Infinitive has the following slot after the stem.

Stem	SubAgr
e '3sg.ind'	
im '1pl'	
i '3sg.impf'	
ə '3sg.pstprf'	
i '3sg.sbj'	
ən 'inf'	
id '3pl.'	
ə '3sg.prsprf'	
ə 'ptcp.pst'	
o '2sg.imp'	
əm '1sg'	
o '3sg.pst'	
ə '3sg.sbjv'	
i '2sg'	

5.2.7.2 Infinitive Slots and Fillers

The category Infinitive does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: [Imp](#), [Pst](#), [Pst.ptcp](#), [Pst.sbj](#), [PstCnt](#), [PstPluprf](#), [PstPrf](#), [Sbjv](#), and [SubAgr](#).

5.2.8 Transitive verb inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Transitive verb category.

5.2.8.1 Transitive verb Templates

There are no inflectional templates for Transitive verb.

5.2.8.2 Transitive verb Slots and Fillers

The category Transitive verb does not define any slots.

5.2.9 Phrasal verb inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Phrasal verb category.

5.2.9.1 Phrasal verb Templates

There are no inflectional templates for Phrasal verb.

5.2.9.2 Phrasal verb Slots and Fillers

The category Phrasal verb does not define any slots.

5.2.10 Past indicative inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Past indicative category and its subcategories.

5.2.10.1 Past indicative Templates

The category Past indicative has the following template.

5.2.10.1.1 (This template has not been given a name yet.)

This inflectional template for Past indicative has the following slots before and after the stem.

<u>Pst</u>	Stem	<u>SubAgr</u> bə 'pst'
	e '3sg.ind'	
	im '1pl'	
	i '3sg.impf'	
	ə '3sg.pstprf'	
	i '3sg.sbj'	
	ən 'inf'	
	id '3pl.'	
	ə '3sg.prsprf'	
	ə 'ptcp.pst'	
	o '2sg.imp'	
	əm '1sg'	
	o '3sg.pst'	
	ə '3sg.sbjv'	
	i '2sg'	

5.2.10.2 Past indicative Slots and Fillers

The category Past indicative does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: [Imp](#), [Pst](#), [Pst.ptcp](#), [Pst.sbj](#), [PstCnt](#), [PstPluprf](#), [PstPrf](#), [Sbjv](#), and [SubAgr](#).

5.2.11 V:SubAgr inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the V:SubAgr category and its subcategories.

5.2.11.1 V:SubAgr Templates

The category V:SubAgr has the following template.

5.2.11.1.1 Simple

This inflectional template for V:SubAgr has the following slot after the stem.

Stem	SubAgr
e '3sg.ind'	
im '1pl'	
i '3sg.impf'	
ə '3sg.pstprf'	
i '3sg.sbj'	
ən 'inf'	
id '3pl.'	
ə '3sg.prsprf'	
ə 'ptcp.pst'	
0 '2sg.imp'	
əm '1sg'	
0 '3sg.pst'	
ə '3sg.sbjv'	
i '2sg'	

5.2.11.2 V:SubAgr Slots and Fillers

The category V:SubAgr does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: [Imp](#), [Pst](#), [Pst.ptcp](#), [Pst.sbj](#), [PstCnt](#), [PstPluprf](#), [PstPrf](#), [Sbjv](#), and [SubAgr](#).

5.2.12 V:Pst inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the V:Pst category.

5.2.12.1 V:Pst Templates

There are no inflectional templates for V:Pst.

5.2.12.2 V:Pst Slots and Fillers

The category V:Pst does not define any slots.

5.2.13 Compound verb inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Compound verb category.

5.2.13.1 Compound verb Templates

There are no inflectional templates for Compound verb.

5.2.13.2 Compound verb Slots and Fillers

The category Compound verb does not define any slots.

5.2.14 V:Sbjv inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the V:Sbjv category and its subcategories.

5.2.14.1 V:Sbjv Templates

The category V:Sbjv has the following template.

5.2.14.1.1 (*This template has not been given a name yet.*)

This inflectional template for V:Sbjv has the following slot before the stem.

Sbjv	Stem
	bə 'sbjv'

5.2.14.2 V:Sbjv Slots and Fillers

The category V:Sbjv does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: [Imp](#), [Pst](#), [Pst.ptcp](#), [Pst.sbj](#), [PstCnt](#), [PstPluprf](#), [PstPrf](#), [Sbjv](#), and [SubAgr](#).

5.2.15 Past participle inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Past participle category and its subcategories.

5.2.15.1 Past participle Templates

The category Past participle has the following template.

5.2.15.1.1 (*This template has not been given a name yet.*)

This inflectional template for Past participle has the following slots before and after the stem.

(Pst.ptcp)	Stem	SubAgr bə 'pst.ptcp'
	e '3sg.ind'	
	im '1pl'	
	i '3sg.impf'	
	ə '3sg.pstprf'	
	i '3sg.sbj'	
	ən 'inf'	
	id '3pl.'	
	ə '3sg.prsprf'	
	ə 'ptcp.pst'	
	o '2sg.imp'	
	əm '1sg'	
	o '3sg.pst'	
	ə '3sg.sbjv'	
	i '2sg'	

5.2.15.2 Past participle Slots and Fillers

The category Past participle does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: [Imp](#), [Pst](#), [Pst.ptcp](#), [Pst.sbj](#), [PstCnt](#), [PstPluprf](#), [PstPrf](#), [Sbjv](#), and [SubAgr](#).

5.2.16 Past subjunctive inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Past subjunctive category and its subcategories.

5.2.16.1 Past subjunctive Templates

The category Past subjunctive has the following template.

5.2.16.1.1 (*This template has not been given a name yet.*)

This inflectional template for Past subjunctive has the following slots before and after the stem.

<u>Pst</u>	Stem	<u>Pst.sbj</u>	<u>SubAgr</u> bə 'pst'
	əvi 'pstsbj'	e '3sg.ind' im '1pl' i '3sg.impf' ə '3sg.pstprf' i '3sg.sbj' ən 'inf' id '3pl.' ə '3sg.prsprf' ə 'ptcp.pst' 0 '2sg.imp' əm '1sg' 0 '3sg.pst' ə '3sg.sbjv' i '2sg'	

5.2.16.2 Past subjunctive Slots and Fillers

The category Past subjunctive does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: [Imp](#), [Pst](#), [Pst.ptcp](#), [Pst.sbj](#), [PstCnt](#), [PstPluprf](#), [PstPrf](#), [Sbjv](#), and [SubAgr](#).

5.2.17 Present indicative inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Present indicative category and its subcategories.

5.2.17.1 Present indicative Templates

The category Present indicative has the following template.

5.2.17.1.1 (*This template has not been given a name yet.*)

This inflectional template for Present indicative has the following slot after the stem.

Stem	SubAgr
e '3sg.ind'	
im '1pl'	
i '3sg.impf'	
ə '3sg.pstprf'	
i '3sg.sbj'	
ən 'inf'	
id '3pl.'	
ə '3sg.prsprf'	
ə 'ptcp.pst'	
0 '2sg.imp'	
əm '1sg'	
0 '3sg.pst'	
ə '3sg.sbjv'	
i '2sg'	

5.2.17.2 Present indicative Slots and Fillers

The category Present indicative does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: [Imp](#), [Pst](#), [Pst.ptcp](#), [Pst.sbj](#), [PstCnt](#), [PstPluprf](#), [PstPrf](#), [Sbjv](#), and [SubAgr](#).

5.2.18 Present subjunctive inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Present subjunctive category and its subcategories.

5.2.18.1 Present subjunctive Templates

The category Present subjunctive has the following template.

5.2.18.1.1 (*This template has not been given a name yet.*)

This inflectional template for Present subjunctive has the following slots before and after the stem.

Sbjv	Stem	SubAgr bə 'sbjv'
	e '3sg.ind'	
	im '1pl'	
	i '3sg.impf'	
	ə '3sg.pstprf'	
	i '3sg.sbj'	
	ən 'inf'	
	id '3pl.'	
	ə '3sg.prsprf'	
	ə 'ptcp.pst'	
	0 '2sg.imp'	
	əm '1sg'	
	0 '3sg.pst'	
	ə '3sg.sbjv'	
	i '2sg'	

5.2.18.2 Present subjunctive Slots and Fillers

The category Present subjunctive does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: [Imp](#), [Pst](#), [Pst.ptcp](#), [Pst.sbj](#), [PstCnt](#), [PstPluprf](#), [PstPrf](#), [Sbjv](#), and [SubAgr](#).

5.2.19 Imperfect inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Imperfect category and its subcategories.

5.2.19.1 Imperfect Templates

The category Imperfect has the following template.

5.2.19.1.1 (*This template has not been given a name yet.*)

This inflectional template for Imperfect has the following slot after the stem.

Stem	SubAgr
e '3sg.ind'	
im '1pl'	
i '3sg.impf'	
ə '3sg.pstprf'	
i '3sg.sbj'	
ən 'inf'	
id '3pl.'	
ə '3sg.prsprf'	
ə 'ptcp.pst'	
0 '2sg.imp'	
əm '1sg'	
0 '3sg.pst'	
ə '3sg.sbjv'	
i '2sg'	

5.2.19.2 Imperfect Slots and Fillers

The category Imperfect does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: [Imp](#), [Pst](#), [Pst.ptcp](#), [Pst.sbj](#), [PstCnt](#), [PstPluprf](#), [PstPrf](#), [Sbjv](#), and [SubAgr](#).

5.2.20 PastContinuous inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the PastContinuous category and its subcategories.

5.2.20.1 PastContinuous Templates

The category PastContinuous has the following template.

5.2.20.1.1 (*This template has not been given a name yet.*)

This inflectional template for PastContinuous has the following slots after the stem.

Stem	PstCnt	SubAgr
əndovu 'pst.cnt'	e '3sg.ind'	
	im '1pl'	
	i '3sg.impf'	
	ə '3sg.pstprf'	
	i '3sg.sbj'	
	ən 'inf'	
	id '3pl.'	
	ə '3sg.prspfr'	
	ə 'ptcp.pst'	
	0 '2sg.imp'	
	əm '1sg'	
	0 '3sg.pst'	
	ə '3sg.sbjv'	
	i '2sg'	

5.2.20.2 PastContinuous Slots and Fillers

The category PastContinuous does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: [Imp](#), [Pst](#), [Pst.ptcp](#), [Pst.sbj](#), [PstCnt](#), [PstPluprf](#), [PstPrf](#), [Sbjv](#), and [SubAgr](#).

6 Derivation

The lexicon currently contains 1 derivational affix. A number in the table below indicates the number of derivational affixes that attach to a stem of the syntactic category named in the row label to the left and produce a stem of the syntactic category

named in the column label above it. Click on the number to see a list of the actual affixes. (Note that it is possible for a derivational affix to have more than one mapping so the sum of the numbers in the table may be greater than the number of derivational affixes in the lexicon.)

	adj
adj	1

The following are the derivational affixes in this analysis of Gilaki:

6.1 From [adj](#) to [adj](#)

[tar](#) 'cprt' The definition is missing. Please add it.

7 Clitics

In this analysis of Gilaki there are 7 clitics.

Form	Gloss	Definition	Category	Attaches to:
rə	'for'	The definition is missing. Please add it.	Postposition	Any category
ə	'ezf'	The definition is missing. Please add it.	Nominal particle	Any category
i	'deic'	The definition is missing. Please add it.	Nominal particle	Any category
i	"	The definition is missing. Please add it.	Indefinite article	Any category
ə	'quot'	The definition is missing. Please add it.	Quotative	Any category

8 Compounding

In this analysis of Gilaki there is no compounding.

9 Morpho-syntactic Feature System

Gilaki has a morpho-syntactic feature system with the feature structure types listed in section [9.1](#) and the features given in section [9.2](#).

9.1 Morpho-syntactic Feature Structure Types

Gilaki has a feature system with the following feature structure type:

9.1.1 *Infl*

There is no description yet. It has the following features:

Name	Description
absolute tense	Absolute tense is a tense that refers to a time in relation to the moment of utterance.

9.2 Morpho-syntactic Features

Gilaki has a morpho-syntactic feature system with the following features:

9.2.1 *Absolute tense*

Absolute tense is a tense that refers to a time in relation to the moment of utterance. It has the following possible values:

Name	Abbreviation	Description
past tense	pst	Past tense is an absolute tense that refers to a time before the moment of utterance.

10 Allomorphy

This analysis of Gilaki has phonological conditioning of allomorphs.

10.1 Phonological Environments

The following is a complete list of the phonological environments that condition allomorphs in this analysis:

Representation	Name	Description	Count
/#_[C] [VowO]	AfterConsonant	When the string comes after a consonant	2 instances
/#_[C] [VowUorO]	BeginningBeforeC+UorO	Word beginning before a consonant and vowel U or O	3 instances
/#_[C] [Ye]	BeginningBeforeC+Ye	Word beginning before a consonant and vowel Ye	2 instances
/[He]_	AfterHe	After the letter He	1 instance
/[Nun]_	AfterNun	When the string comes after Nun	1 instance
/[V]_	AfterVowel	When the string comes after a vowel	6 instances
/[VMinusYe]_	AfterVowelMinusYe	Excluding Ye	1 instance
/[Ye]_	AfterYe	After the letter Ye	1 instance
/_[V]	BeforeV	When the string comes before a vowel	17 instances

The following is a complete list of the phonological environments that are not being used:

Representation	Name	Description	Count
/# [C] _	After stem-initial consonant	Default infix position environment	0 instances
/[VMinusVav]_	AfterVowelsMinusVav	Vowels excluding Vav	0 instances
/_[C]	BeforeC	When the string comes before a consonant	0 instances
/#_[VowO]	BeginningBeforeC+O	Word beginning before a consonant and vowel O	0 instances

10.2 Inflection Classes

This analysis of Gilaki also has allomorphy that is lexically conditioned by inflection class.

The category [Past indicative](#) has the inflection classes shown in the following table. There is no default inflection class for this category.

Name	Description	Stem count	Affix count
[absten.pst]	***	0 stems	0 affixes

The category [V:SubAgr](#) has the inflection classes shown in the following table. There is no default inflection class for this category.

Name	Description	Stem count	Affix count
***	***	0 stems	0 affixes

The category [Present indicative](#) has the inflection classes shown in the following table. There is no default inflection class for this category.

Name	Description	Stem count	Affix count
[absten.prs]	***	0 stems	0 affixes

The category [Adjective](#) has the inflection classes shown in the following table. There is no default inflection class for this category.

Name	Description	Stem count	Affix count
***	***	0 stems	0 affixes

11 Natural Classes

The following natural classes have been defined in this analysis of Gilaki.

Class	Phonemes	Class Name	Class Description
C	b, ĉ, d, f, g, h, ĵ, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, ŝ, t, v, x, y, z, ʔ, γ	Consonants	Consonants
He	e	He	Vowel e
Nun		Nun	Consonant Nun
V	a, e, ə, i, o, u	Vowel	Vowels
VMinus-Vav	a, e, ə, i, o	VowelMinusVav	Excludes Vav
VMi-nusYe	a, e, ə, o, u	VowelMinusYe	Excludes Ye
VowəorA	a, ə	VowəorA	Vowel ə or A
VowO	o	VowO	Vowel O
VowUorO	o, u	VowUorO	Vowel U or O
Ye	i	Ye	Vowel i

12 Residue

12.1 Underspecified Inflectional Affixes

This analysis of Gilaki has the following underspecified inflectional affixes. Underspecified inflectional affixes are those affixes which have been classified as being inflectional yet do not have a specified category or, if a category is specified, do not have a specified slot for that category. If the category is not specified, then the affix can attach to any stem. If the category is specified, but the slot is not specified, then the affix can attach to any stem of that category.

Form	Gloss	Category	Slot
ə	'attr'	Adjective	Unknown slot
nə	'not'	Verb	Unknown slot
	'not'	Adjective	Unknown slot
a	'sbjcomp'	Adjective	Unknown slot
a	'objcomp'	Noun	Unknown slot

12.2 Unmarked Stems

This analysis of Gilaki has the following stems which have not yet been marked for category.

nə 'not'

bə 'pst.ptcp'

12.3 Unused Inflection Classes

This analysis of Gilaki has the following inflection classes which have been defined but are never assigned to any stem.

[absten.prs]

[absten.pst]

This analysis of Gilaki has the following inflection classes which have been defined but are never assigned to any affix.

[absten.prs]

[absten.pst]

See section [10.2](#) for more information on these inflection classes.

A Gilaki morphemes by type

This appendix lists morphemes by morphological type. Only the first ten morphemes will be listed for each morphological type.

- [Enclitic](#) (7).
- [Infix](#) (4).
- [Phrase](#) (11).
- [Prefix](#) (7).
- [Root](#) (1).
- [Stem](#) (296).
- [Suffix](#) (48).

A.1 Enclitic

This subsection lists all the instances.

rə 'for'
e "
ə 'ezf'
i 'deic'
i "
i "
ə 'quot'

A.2 Infix

This subsection lists all the instances.

ə	'pstprf'
andov	"
əndovu	'pst.cnt'
andav	"

A.3 Phrase

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

bad az	'after'
šakam zast	'give birth to. pst'
aha fad	'accept.pst'
kar kud	'work.pst'
yad ay	'come to memory.prs'
hay digad	'reproach.pst'
harif bu	'beat.pst'
hato ki	'as soon as'
ta in ke	'till'
šakam usad	'get pregnant.pst'

A.4 Prefix

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

nu	"
nə	'not'
be	"
va	"
bə	'pst.ptcp'
ba	"
na	"

A.5 Root

This subsection lists all the instances.

maǰbor bustən 'be.forced.pst'

A.6 Stem

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

fanderest "
Sale 'Saleh'
vost "
amu 'paternal uncle'
amarz 'forgive.prs'
palaxorušt 'rice and stew'
pesər 'son'
əm "
ašanə "
vasi 'have to'

A.7 Suffix

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

əvo 'pstpluprf'
av "
o "
i '3sg.impf'
im '1pl'
i '3sg.sbj'
imi "
ə 'attr'
ə '3sg.prsprf'
a "

B Gilaki morphemes by category

This appendix lists morphemes by category. Only the first ten morphemes will be listed for each category.

- [Adjective](#) (25).
- Adposition
- [Adverb](#) (27).
- [Adverbializer](#) (5).
- [Cardinal numeral](#) (5).
- Classifier
- Compound verb
- Connective
- [Coordinating connective](#) (2).
- [Demonstrative](#) (4).
- [Exclamatory pronoun](#) (1).
- Imperative
- Imperfect
- [Indefinite article](#) (1).
- [Indefinite pronoun](#) (1).
- Infinitive
- [Interjection](#) (2).
- [Modal verb](#) (1).
- [Nominal particle](#) (2).
- [Noun](#) (93).
- [Noun classifier](#) (1).
- Numeral
- Ordinal numeral
- Participle
- [Past indicative](#) (46).
- Past participle

- Past subjunctive
- PastContinuous
- Perfect
- [Personal pronoun](#) (5).
- Personal pronoun accusative-dative
- Personal pronoun genitive
- [Personal pronoun nominative](#) (1).
- [Phrasal verb](#) (1).
- Pluperfect
- Possessive pronoun
- [Postposition](#) (8).
- [Preposition](#) (6).
- [Present indicative](#) (14).
- Present subjunctive
- Pro-adverb
- Pro-form
- Pronoun
- [Proper Noun](#) (6).
- [Quantifier](#) (1).
- [Quotative](#) (1).
- [Reflexive pronoun](#) (2).
- Subordinating connective
- Transitive verb
- V:Pst
- V:Sbjv
- V:SubAgr
- Verb
- Verbal particle

B.1 Adjective

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

maǰbor	'forced'
ə	'attr'
zanxazi	'proposing marriage'
ǰaxtara	'forgotten'
pillə	'old'
vaz	'open'
bextar	'better'
koǰə	'small'
maǰbur	'forced'
nə	'not'

B.2 Adposition

B.3 Adverb

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

dovarə	'again'
čarə	'why'
palaxuri	'eating out'
axar	'finally'
bəron	'out'
dayam	'always'
xaili	'much'
bijir	'down'
dam	'near'
birun	'out'

B.4 Adverbializer

This subsection lists all the instances.

ingar 'as if'
ki 'when'
agi 'if'
hato ki 'as soon as'
ta in ke 'till'

B.5 Cardinal numeral

This subsection lists all the instances.

dah 'ten'
do 'two'
i 'one'
se 'three'
šiš 'six'

B.6 Classifier

B.7 Compound verb

B.8 Connective

B.9 Coordinating connective

This subsection lists all the instances.

am 'also'
o 'and'

B.10 Demonstrative

This subsection lists all the instances.

hana 'just this.accdat'
an 'this'
u 'that'

un 'that'

B.11 Exclamatory pronoun

This subsection lists all the instances.

či 'what'

B.12 Imperative

This subsection lists all the instances.

o '2sg.imp'

bə 'imp'

B.13 Imperfect

This subsection lists all the instances.

i '3sg.impf'

B.14 Indefinite article

This subsection lists all the instances.

i "

B.15 Indefinite pronoun

This subsection lists all the instances.

hičči 'nothing'

B.16 Infinitive

This subsection lists all the instances.

ən 'inf'

B.17 Interjection

This subsection lists all the instances.

aha 'yes'

hay 'pooh'

B.18 Modal verb

This subsection lists all the instances.

vasi 'have to'

B.19 Nominal particle

This subsection lists all the instances.

ə 'ezf'

i 'deic'

B.20 Noun

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

amu 'paternal uncle'

palaxorušt 'rice and stew'

pesər 'son'

kar 'work'

laku 'laku'

otobus 'bus'

gaz 'tooth'

xorušt 'stew'

xuk 'pig'

dahat 'village'

B.21 Noun classifier

This subsection lists all the instances.

ta 'clf'

B.22 Numeral

B.23 Ordinal numeral

B.24 Participle

B.25 Past indicative

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

əvo	'pstpluprf'
digad	'throw.pst'
ə	'pstprf'
usad	'take.pst'
gerdast	'stroll.pst'
dakaft	'hurry.pst'
kud	'do.pst'
ə	'3sg.prsprf'
šakam zast	'give birth to. pst'
kaš	'pull.pst'

B.26 Past participle

This subsection lists all the instances.

bə	'pst.ptcp'
ə	'ptcp.pst'

B.27 Past subjunctive

This subsection lists all the instances.

i	'3sg.sbj'
əvi	'pstsbj'

B.28 PastContinuous

B.29 Perfect

B.30 Personal pronoun

This subsection lists all the instances.

uŕon 'they'

mən 'I'

aŕan 'they'

an 'he'

amən 'we'

B.31 Personal pronoun accusative-dative

B.32 Personal pronoun genitive

B.33 Personal pronoun nominative

This subsection lists all the instances.

to 'you'

B.34 Phrasal verb

This subsection lists all the instances.

majbor bustən 'be.forced.pst'

B.35 Pluperfect

B.36 Possessive pronoun

B.37 Postposition

This subsection lists all the instances.

rə	'for'
sar	'to'
mimiǰə	'with'
duron	'into'
ǰə	'from'
marə	'with'
ro	'on'
miǰə	'with'

B.38 Preposition

This subsection lists all the instances.

bad az	'after'
bə	'to'
ba	'with'
ta	'until'
ǰə	'than'
az	'from'

B.39 Present indicative

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

amarz	'forgive.prs'
xay	'want.prs'
dax	'give.prs'
kun	'do.prs'

fokun	'throw.prs'
man	'remain.prs'
dar	'have.prs'
šo	'go.prs'
e	'3sg.ind'
yad ay	'come to memory.prs'

B.40 Present subjunctive

B.41 Pro-adverb

B.42 Pro-form

B.43 Pronoun

B.44 Proper Noun

This subsection lists all the instances.

Sale	'Saleh'
Amad	'Ahmad'
Hadi	'Hadi'
Ali	'Ali'
Mašad	'Mashad'
Rašt	'Rašt'

B.45 Quantifier

This subsection lists all the instances.

čan	'a few'
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B.46 Quotative

This subsection lists all the instances.

ə 'quot'

B.47 Reflexive pronoun

This subsection lists all the instances.

xu 'oneself.sg'

xuri 'oneself.sg.accdat'

B.48 Subordinating connective

B.49 Transitive verb

B.50 V:Pst

B.51 V:Sbjv

This subsection lists all the instances.

ə '3sg.sbjv'

B.52 V:SubAgr

B.53 Verb

This subsection lists all the instances.

im '1pl'

nə 'not'

əm '1sg'

id '3pl.'

bə 'sbjv'

i '2sg'

Glossary

Alphabetical order: a b č d e ə f g h i l m n o p r s/š t u v x y z γ.

0

-0₁ *Pst.ind:SubAgr sfx* 3sg.pst

-0₂ fr. var. of **-əvo**

-0₃ *Imp:SubAgr sfx* 2sg.imp

A a

a fr. var. of **ə₂**

-a₁ (fr. var. **-yə**) *n:Case sfx* acc-dat

-a₂ [š] fr. var. of **-ə₇**

-a₃ (fr. var. **-ə₁** [š]; **-ə**) *adj sfx* sbjcomp

-a₄ (fr. var. **-ə₄**; **-ə₅**) *n sfx* objcomp

adam *n* 1) person 2) guest

agi *adv*lizer if

aha *interj* yes

aha fad ph. v. *Pst.ind* accept.pst

aha fad (ph. v. of **aha**, **fad**, see under **aha**)

aib *n* fault

aid *n* New Year

aidi *n* New Year's gift

alan *n* now

Ali *nprop* Ali

am₁ (enc. **ə_m**) *coordconn* also

am₂ (fr. var. **om**) *Pst.ind* come.pst

-am fr. var. of **-ə_m**

Amad *nprop* Ahmad

amarə irreg. infl. of **amən**, **amən**

amari irreg. infl. of **amən**, **amən**

amarz *Prs.ind* forgive.prs

ameri irreg. infl. of **amən**, **amən**

amən (irreg. infl. **amarə**; **amari**; **ameri**;

aməri; **ami**, Gen **ami**, AccDat **amarə**;

amari; **ameri**; **aməri**) *pers* we

aməri irreg. infl. of **amən**, **amən**

ami irreg. infl. of **amən**, **amən**

amjan *n* paternal aunt

amjanmard *n* husband of paternal aunt

amu *n* paternal uncle

an₁ (irreg. infl. **ani**, Gen **ani**) *dem* this

an₂ (Gen **anə**, AccDat **ana**) *pers* he

-an *n:Pl sfx* pl

ana an₂

-andav- fr. var. of **-əndovu-**

-andov- fr. var. of **-əndovu-**

anə an₂

ani irreg. infl. of **an₁**, **an₁**

arəore (fr. var. **arəura**) *adv* here and there
arəura fr. var. of **arəore**
arz *Prs.ind* to be worth
ašan (Gen **ašanə**, AccDat **ašani**) *pers* they
ašanə ašan
ašani ašan
aškaf fr. var. of **eškaf**
asp *n* horse
av *n* water

-av fr. var. of **-əvi**
aval *adv* first
avard *Pst.ind* bring.pst
-avə fr. var. of **-əvo**
axar *adv* finally
ay *Prs.ind* come.prs ph. v. **yad ay** (see under **yad**)
ayam *n* time
az *prep* from ph.prep **bad az** (see under **bad**)
aṣa *n* mister

B b

ba *prep* with
ba- fr. var. of **bə-**
bad *adv* later
bad az ph.prep *prep* after
bad az (**bad**, **az**, see under **bad**)
bar *Prs.ind* bring.prs
baranj, bəj *n* rice
be fr. var. of **bə-**
be- fr. var. of **bə-**
bextar *adj* better
bəron *adv* out
bə (fr. var. **be**) *prep* 1) to 2) in

bə- (fr. var. **ba-**; **be-**; **va-**) 1) *v:Pst pfx* pst
2) *Imp:Imp pfx* imp 3) *Pst.ptcp:Pst.ptcp pfx*
pst.ptcp 4) *v:Sbjv pfx* sbjv
bijar *n* rice field
bijir *adv* down
bikar *adj* jobless
birun (fr. var. **virun**) *adv* out
bord *Pst.ind* take.pst
bost fr. var. of **bust**
bozorg *adj* big
bu *Pst.ind* be.pst ph. v. **harif bu** (see under **harif**)
buṣur *adv* up
bust (fr. var. **bost**; **vost**) *Pst.ind* become.pst
ph. v. **maṣbor bustən**

Č č

čačpare *n* basin near the well

čan *quant* a few

čarə *adv* why

čegad *Pst.ind* prepare.pst

či *excl* what

čillə *n* part of winter

čum *n* eye

D d

-d irreg. infl. of **-id**

dah *cardnum* ten

dahat *n* village

dakaft *Pst.ind* hurry.pst

dam *adv* near

danest *Pst.ind* consider.pst

dar *Prs.ind* have.prs

das *n* hand

daškani *Pst.ind* burst.pst

dast *n* hand

dašt *Pst.ind* have.pst

dax *Prs.ind* give.prs

dayam *adv* always

dayi *n* maternal uncle

dayza *n* cousin

di₁ *adv* 1) more 2) quite

di₂ *Pst.ind* give.pst

di₃ *Pst.ind* see.pst

digad *Pst.ind* throw.pst ph. v. **hay digad** (see under **hay**)

dil *n* heart

dimpar *n* cheek

do *cardnum* two

dogud *Pst.ind* wear.pst

donya *n* world

dovarə (fr. var. **dovaro**) *adv* again

dovaro fr. var. of **dovarə**

duon *postp* into

E e

-e (dial. var. **-ə₁** [Š], fr. var. **-ə₁** [Š]; **-u**)

Prs.ind:SubAgr sfx 3sg.ind

= **e** fr. var. of = **ə₁**

es fr. var. of **is**

eškaft (fr. var. **aškaft**) *Pst.ind* break.pst

-evu fr. var. of **-əvo**

Ə ə

-ə fr. var. of **-a₃**

ə₁ fr. var. of **o₁**

ə₂ (fr. var. **a**; **o₂**; **u₂**) *Prs.ind* be.3sg.prs

-ə- *Pst.ind:PstPrf* ifx pstprf

-ə₁ [Š] (dial. var. **-o₁**) dial. var. of **-e**, fr. var. of **-a₃**, **-e**

-ə₂ (fr. var. **-o₁**) *Pst.ptcp:SubAgr* sfx ptcp.pst

-ə₃ (fr. var. **-o₄**; **-u**) *Pst.ind:SubAgr* sfx 3sg.pstprf

-ə₄ fr. var. of **-a₄**

-ə₅ fr. var. of **-a₄**

-ə₆ *adj* sfx attr

-ə₇ (fr. var. **-a₂** [Š]) *n:Case* sfx gen

-ə₈ (fr. var. **-o₁**) *Pst.ind:SubAgr* sfx 3sg.prsprf

=ə₁ (fr. var. **=e**) *nomprt* ezf

=ə₂ *quot* quot

-əd fr. var. of **-id**

əm enc. of **am₁**

-əm (fr. var. **-am**; **-om**; **-um**) *v:SubAgr* sfx 1sg

-ən (fr. var. **-on**) *Inf:SubAgr* sfx inf

-əndovu- (fr. var. **-andav-**; **-andov-**) *Pst.ind:PstCnt* ifx pst.cnt

-əvi (fr. var. **-av**) *Pst.sbj:Pst.sbj* sfx pstsbj

-əvo (fr. var. **-o₂**; **-avə**; **-evu**; **-ov**; **-ovo**; **-uvə**) *Pst.ind:PstPluprf* sfx pstpluprf

F f

fad *Pst.ind* give.pst ph. v. **aha fad** (see under **aha**)

fagift *Pst.ind* get.pst

fanderest fr. var. of **fandərəst**

fandərəst (fr. var. **fanderest**) *Pst.ind* look at

fares *Pst.ind* arrive.pst

fikr *n* thought

fokun *Prs.ind* throw.prs

G g

galuš *n* galuš

gaz *n* tooth

gerdast *Pst.ind* stroll.pst

gift *Pst.ind* take.pst

gil *n* mud

go guft

god fr. var. of **kud**
goft fr. var. of **guft**
gomarkallo *n* briar patch

gud fr. var. of **kud**
guft (fr. var. **goft**, Prs **go**) *Pst.ind* say.pst
gul *n* flower

H h

Hadi *nprop* Hadi
halva *n* halva
hame *adj* all
hana *dem* just this.accdat
hanuz *adv* still
harif *n* rival
harif bu ph. v. *Pst.ind* beat.pst
harif bu (ph. v. of **harif**, **bu**, see under **harif**)
hasə *adv* now
hato *adv* so

hato ki unspec. comp. form *advlizer* as soon as
hato ki (unspec. comp. form of **hato**, **ki**, see under **hato**)
hava *n* weather
hay *interj* pooh
hay digad ph. v. *Pst.ind* reproach.pst
hay digad (ph. v. of **hay**, **digad**, see under **hay**)
hə *Pst.ind* buy.pst
hičči (fr. var. **hiči**) *indfpro* nothing
hiči fr. var. of **hičči**
hičvaxt *adv* never

I i

i *cardnum* one
-i₁ *Impf:SubAgr sfx* 3sg.impf
-i₂ *Pst.sbj:SubAgr sfx* 3sg.sbj
-i₃ *v:SubAgr sfx* 2sg
= i₁ unspec. var. of **= rə**
= i₂ *nomprt* deic
= i₃ *indf*
ibče (fr. var. **ivčə**; **ivčə**) **1)** *adv* little **2)** *adj* little

-id (fr. var. **-əd**; **-ud**, irreg. infl. **-d**; **-ud**) *v:SubAgr sfx* 3pl.
-im (dial. var. **-imi**) *v:SubAgr sfx* 1pl
-imi dial. var. of **-im**
ingar *advlizer* as if
is (fr. var. **es**) *Pst.ind* stay.pst
ištavə *adj* hearing
ivčə fr. var. of **ibče**
ivčə fr. var. of **ibče**

ǰ ǰ

ǰa *n* spot

ǰam *n* addition

ǰan *n* body

ǰaxtara *adj* forgotten

ǰaʁelan *n* guy

ǰe fr. var. of **ǰə**

ǰə (fr. var. **ǰe**; **ǰi**) **1**) *prep* than **2**) *postp* from
3) *prep* since

ǰi fr. var. of **ǰə**

K k

kaifi *n* pleasure

kalasa kod fr. var. of **kalasa kud**

kalasa kud (fr. var. **kalasa kod**) *Pst.ind*
open one's eyes wide.pst

kalfati *n* housekeeping provided by a female
servant

kar *n* **1**) work **2**) activity

kar kud ph. v. *Pst.ind* work.pst

kar kud (ph. v. of **kar**, **kud**, see under **kar**)

karə *adv* cont.part

kaš *Pst.ind* pull.pst

ke fr. var. of **ki** ph.conn **ta in ke**

ki (fr. var. **ke**) *advlizer* **1**) when **2**) that unspec.
comp. form **hato ki** (see under **hato**)

kiška *n* chick

kod fr. var. of **kud**

koǰə *adj* small

kolli *adv* a lot

kosxul *n* crackpot

kud (fr. var. **god**; **gud**; **kod**) *Pst.ind* do.pst
ph. v. **kar kud** (see under **kar**)

kun *Prs.ind* do.prs

küna *adv* back

L l

laku *n* laku

laxo *n* opening

libas *n* clothes

M m

ma <i>n</i> month	Mašad <i>nprop</i> Mashad
maalegardi <i>adv</i> sightseeing	maštə fr. var. of mašti
majbor ph. v. majbor bustən	maštə fr. var. of mašti
majbur <i>adj</i> forced	mašti (fr. var. maštə ; maštə) <i>adj</i> mashti
malomanal <i>n</i> money and property	maγreb <i>n</i> sunset
man <i>Prs.ind</i> remain.prs	mən (Gen mi , AccDat marə₂) <i>pers</i> I
manest <i>Pst.ind</i> resemble.pst	mi mən
mar <i>n</i> mother	mijə <i>postp</i> with
mardom <i>n</i> 1) acquaintances 2) people	mimijə <i>postp</i> with
marə₁ <i>postp</i> with	moattali <i>n</i> wait
marə₂ mən	mord
	moye <i>n</i> time

N n

na- fr. var. of nə-	nə- (fr. var. na- ; nu-) 1) <i>v pfx</i> not 2) <i>adj pfx</i> not
nafar <i>n</i> person	nimče <i>adj</i> 1) small 2) little
nafas <i>n</i> breath	nu- fr. var. of nə-

O o

o₁ (fr. var. ə₁) <i>coordconn</i> and	-o₂
o₂ fr. var. of ə₂	-o₃
-o₁ dial. var. of -ə₁ [Š] (dial. var. of, fr. var. of -e , fr. var. of -a₃), fr. var. of -ə₈ , -ə₂	-o₄ fr. var. of -ə₃
	om fr. var. of am₂

-om fr. var. of **-əm**

-on fr. var. of **-ən**

otobus *n* bus

-ov fr. var. of **-əvo**

-ovo fr. var. of **-əvo**

oyə *adv* there

P p

pala *n* rice

palaxorušt comp. *n* rice and stew

palaxorušt (comp. of **pala**, **xorušt**, see under **pala**)

palaxuri *adv* eating out

per [š] dial. var. of **pər**

pesər (fr. var. **pezar**) *n* son

pezar fr. var. of **pesər**

pər (dial. var. **per** [š]) *n* father

pillə *adj* old

piš *adv* 1) before 2) ago

pol *n* money

R r

radiyo *n* radio

Rašt *nprop* Rašt

rəi *n* guy

= **rə** (unspec. var. = **i₁**) *postp* for

ro *postp* on

röz *n* day

ruzan *n* river

ruz *n* day

S/Š s/š

šab *n* 1) eve 2) night

sabeγ *adj* past

šahr *n* city

šakam *n* belly

šakam usad ph. v. *Pst.ind* get pregnant.pst

šakam zast ph. v. *Pst.ind* give birth to. pst

šakam usad (ph. v. of **šakam**, **usad**, see under **šakam**)

šakam zast (ph. v. of **šakam**, **zastən**, see under **šakam**)

sal *n* year

Sale *nprop* Saleh

sar *postp* to
saxt *adj* difficult
saγ *adj* healthy
se *cardnum* three

šiš *cardnum* six
šo 1) *Pst.ind* go.pst **2)** *Prs.ind* go.prs
sob *n* morning

T t

ta₁ (dial. var. **tə** [š]) *nclf* clf
ta₂ *prep* until
ta in ke *ph.conn* *advlizer* till
ta in ke (**ta**₂, **ke** (fr. var. of **ki**), see under **ta**₂)
-tar *adj* > *adj* *sfx* cprt
tarə to

tazu 1) *adv* just **2)** *adj* new
teri to
tə [š] dial. var. of **ta**₁
ti to
to (Gen **ti**, AccDat **tarə**; **teri**) *persnom* you
tomam *adj* finished

U u

u₁ *dem* that
u₂ fr. var. of **ə**₂
-u fr. var. of **-e**, **-ə**₃
-ud fr. var. of **-id**, irreg. infl. of **-id**
-um fr. var. of **-əm**
un (Gen **uni**) *dem* that
uni un

usad *Pst.ind* take.pst *ph. v.* **šakam usad** (see under **šakam**)
ušon (AccDat **ušonə**) *pers* they
ušonə ušon
usujan *Pst.ind* burn.pst
utaγ *n* room
-uvə fr. var. of **-əvo**

V v

va- fr. var. of **bə-**

vadoxt *Pst.ind* sew.pst

vagardast fr. var. of **vagardest**
vagardesd fr. var. of **vagardest**
vagardest (fr. var. **vagardast**; **vagardesd**;
vagerdest) *Pst.ind* 1) return.pst 2) turn.pst
vagerdest fr. var. of **vagardest**
vanversi *Pst.ind* ask.neg.pst
var *n* time
varf *n* snow

vasat (fr. var. **vazat**) *adj* mid
vasi *Mod* have to
vaversi *Pst.ind* ask.pst
vaz *adj* open
vazat fr. var. of **vasat**
vinrišt *Pst.ind* wake up.neg.pst
virun fr. var. of **birun**
vost fr. var. of **bust**

X x

xaili *adv* 1) much 2) very
xala *n* maternal aunt
xandu *n* laugh
xanə (fr. var. **xano**) *n* home
xano fr. var. of **xanə**
xarab *adj* broken
xardoxašal *n* something nice
xaxur *n* sister
xay *Prs.ind* want.prs
xoft *Pst.ind* fall asleep.pst

xorušt *n* stew comp. **palaxorušt** (see under **pala**)
xorusxan *n* cock crow
xoš (fr. var. **xuš**) *adj* 1) pleasant 2) pleased
xu *refl* oneself.sg
xuda *n* God
xuk *n* pig
xuri *refl* oneself.sg.accdat
xuš fr. var. of **xoš**
xušgel *adj* handsome

Y y

yad *n* memory
yad ay ph. v. *Prs.ind* come to memory.prs

yad ay (ph. v. of **yad**, **ay**, see under **yad**)
-yə fr. var. of **-a₁**

Z z

zai *n* 1) child 2) baby

zamat *n* time

zan *n* woman

zanai *n* woman

zanxazi *adj* proposing marriage

zar *n* penny

zastən *Pst.ind* give birth to.pst ph. v. **šakam**

zast (see under **šakam**)

zindigi *n* life

zor *n* midday

Γ γ

γabəstən *Pst.ind* pickpocket.pst

γam *n* sadness

γašang *adj* pretty

γatil *n* mule

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